EAST-INDIA QUESTION.

A

DEBATE

AT A

GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS

OF

EAST-INDIA STOCK,

ON

WEDNESDAY THE 24TH OF MARCH, 1813,

FOR

TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION

The Propositions

SUBMITTED BY

LORD CASTLEREAGH

TO

THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE FORMER DEBATES.

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

LONDON:
Printed for BLACK, PARRY, and Co. Leadenhall Street,
where may be had, likewise, all the former Debates.

1813.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, London.

ADVERTISEMENT.

As the Interest, and perhaps the Fate of the BRITISH *and* INDIAN EMPIRES *depend on the Decisions of this momentous Crisis, the Editor feels it incumbent upon him to put upon Record all the Discussions at the several* Courts of Proprietors *on the* INDIA QUESTION.

He therefore submits the following Debate to the Perusal of the Public; and pledges himself to lay before them whatever future ones may occur at the same Place, and on the same Subject; in order to render the Question clear, and the Transactions complete.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
The Chairman (Sir Hugh Inglis) - - -	1, 91
The Deputy Chairman (Mr. Thornton)	126, 127, 147, 157, 162, 163
Mr. Hume	70, 91, 127, 146, 147, 149, 154, 155, 157
Mr. Randle Jackson - -	7, 128, 145, 149, 155
Mr. Lowndes - - -	70, 129, 135, 147, 163
Mr Rigby - - - - - - -	162
Mr. Rock - - - - -	127, 129, 157
Mr. Kinnard Smith - - - - -	148, 157
Rev. Mr. Thirlwall - - -	129, 135, 139, 147
Mr. Twining - - - - - -	161

PAPERS ANNEXED.

Resolutions of a General Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock, held on Wednesday the 24th March 1813 - - - - - - - 165

CONTENTS.

Page

Resolutions proposed in the House of Commons by Lord Viscount Castlereagh, on the 22d March 1813 - - 166

Copy of a Petition from the East-India Company to the Right Honourable House of Lords - - - 171

Copy of a Petition from the East-India Company to the Honourable House of Commons - - - - 172

PROCEEDINGS, &c.

EAST-INDIA HOUSE, *March* 24, 1813.

The Minutes of the last Court having been read, and certain accounts and official documents having been laid before the Proprietors, in conformity with the 3d, 4th and 5th sections of the 1st chapter of the Bye Laws of the Company;

Sir *Hugh Inglis* rose and stated, that the Court then assembled was made special, for the purpose of laying before the members, the Resolutions which were submitted to the House of Commons, on Monday night, by Lord Castlereagh, and had been received by the Court of Directors only on the preceding day —He (Sir Hugh Inglis) had seen the Earl of Buckinghamshire on Monday; and, at 11 o'clock on that day the Resolutions were not finally settled. This circumstance was mentioned as a reason for their not having been sooner transmitted to the Court of Directors. — Lord Castlereagh, in his opening speech, expressed himself in the highest terms of

the India Company:—He spoke in the warmest manner, both of themselves, their government, and the general good management of the whole of their concerns.—But he (Sir Hugh) could not but lament, that there were some of his propositions which did not correspond exactly with the sentiments contained in his opening speech. If the Court pleased, those propositions should be now laid before them, after which he would make a very few observations.

The propositions (for which see Appendix) having been read,

Sir *Hugh Inglis*, in continuation, observed, that the most material of those propositions was the *third* (not but the others were also highly deserving of attention), and, with the permission of the Court, he would have that particular proposition, to which he intended chiefly to confine his remarks, read over again.

This having been done accordingly, Sir *Hugh Inglis* proceeded. He said he had already stated, that Lord Castlereagh, in his opening speech, spoke in the highest terms of the excellence of the Company's government abroad, of the correctness of their management in that House, and of the ability of the gentlemen placed by them in the various departments. After this just eulogium on the Company and their establishments,

he was grieved to find that such a resolution, as that last read to the Court, was introduced, which must have the effect of breaking down that system, so properly described and panegyrised by the noble lord. (*Hear! hear!*) He understood it was stated, that the Company had not capital sufficient to carry on their trade. But those whom he was addressing would recollect, for it had been stated in official documents, and asserted in that Court, that the Company had large sums to pay, in this country, from the resources of India.—How, he would ask, were those payments to be made, except through the medium of commerce? There was one item at present chargeable on their funds, the payment of interest on the India debt, amounting to £1,500,000 per annum, which, if it were paid, or payable in India, would lighten their funds at home to the extent of that sum. There were also other payments, connected with the India territories, to a very large amount.—These arose from the necessary recruiting for His Majesty's troops, sums granted to retired officers, and other items, making an aggregate of between 3 and £4,000,000 sterling, annually.—The funds to pay these must be furnished from the territorial revenues of India, and would, under other circumstances, supply a landed capital sufficient to carry on all the

trade that could be established with that country, or for which consumption could be found at home. If, however, it was not sufficient, the private trade, already established, was more than adequate to meet every demand in this country, and to take up all the surplus produce abroad. Unfortunately His Majesty's Ministers took a different view of the subject; they seemed to think, that there were no bounds to the trade between India and Great Britian.—Unhappily, however, there were many gentlemen, perhaps some of them in that room, who from dear bought experience, could assert the contrary.

If the trade were extended to the outports, the Court must be aware, that it would materially interfere with many arrangements of the Company.—Their sales were brought forward at particular and stated times; and, on the produce of those sales they had to depend, for paying the demands which were made upon them.—Now, if the trade were opened, when the Company declared a sale, the merchants at the Outports might anticipate it a month, a fortnight, or a week, and, when they expected money, to answer various demands, their goods would remain unsold in their warehouses. (*Hear! hear!*)

But that was not the only evil which they would have to encounter.—By the proposed al-

teration the danger of smuggling would be so much increased, as to affect not merely the revenues of the Company, but those of the Kingdom. It had been alleged, that the Court of Directors have not given all the facilities that could be wished to the private trade. But what did the Company offer last year? An unlimited extension of trade, export and import, to and from India, in the ships of the private merchants.—And what did they ask in return? That the goods imported should be secured in the Company's warehouses, in the port of London. What did they contend for? That the port of London, which had ever been the *emporium* of India commerce, should ever continue so. (*Hear! hear!*) This arrangement was for the benefit of the Empire at large, and for the advantage of the adventurers themselves, because the London market afforded the surest and readiest place for sale. He was in hopes, that, with the enlarged view which Ministers must have taken of the subject, they would have considered it in this light, and attended to the representations of the numerous classes of people connected with the Company, not only in the metropolis, but in different towns throughout the country, particularly in the West of England, who were desirous that the trade should remain as it then was. It was much to

be lamented that Ministers had not taken that view of the question. Therefore, it would be necessary that the Company should present a petition to the House of Lords, similar to that, which, with the concurrence of the Court, had already been presented to the House of Commons; and perhaps it might also be necessary, at some future stage of the business, to cause petitions to be laid before both Houses of Parliament, praying to be heard by counsel, and to examine witnesses at the bar of each House respectively. The Court of Directors did not know, exactly, the stage when it would be proper to present these latter petitions to the two Houses. It would certainly be necessary that a petition should be presented to the House of Lords of the same description as that already presented to the House of Commons; and what the Court of Directors now requested was, the sanction of the Court of Proprietors to affix the seal of the Company to petitions, to the Houses of Lords and Commons, praying to be heard by councel and to examine witnesses, if necessary, without calling another General Court. He should, therefore, move,—

"That this Court concur in the propriety of "presenting a Petition to the House of Lords, "similar to that presented to the House of "Commons."

This motion was carried unanimously.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* next moved—

"That this Court do sanction the annexation "of the Company's seal to petitions, to be pre- "sented, if necessary, to the Houses of Lords "and Commons, praying to be heard, at their "bars, by counsel, and to examine witnesses."

On this motion being put,

Mr. *Randle Jackson* rose and said, if he understood, correctly, the course of their proceedings, the Court would not, on that day, be called on for a decisive opinion, much less for any conclusion on the Resolutions which had been read to them. They, along with other important and interesting matters, would be suffered to lie over, in order that the Court might exercise their judgement upon them after a calm and serious consideration; for every claim to serious consideration, which no less than a question of existence could have, the papers then before the Court possessed. They were at length approaching to that crisis which had been long foreseen—every step they trod assumed a shade more awful than the preceding; and they were then about to decide on their future existence, at least according to the conception of the term entertained by that Court, and by the Court of Directors:—for, to call *that existence,* which could only be an impaired and

mutilated state, did not coincide with their application of the term. It was not *that* state which they would covet, nor perhaps even accept. *(Hear! hear!)* Under these circumstances, they could not probably employ that morning better, than by taking a fair and candid view of their situation, as affected by the Resolutions proposed on the part of His Majesty's Ministers. He believed, there was no person who had attended the debate on Monday evening, as he had done, in his anxiety to procure every information on the subject, both with respect to what might be said respecting those Resolutions, as well as to the Resolutions themselves, without feeling an extraordinary degree of interest. The Noble Lord who proposed the Resolutions, avowedly abstained from going into detail, in his preliminary observations; and, in pursuing that course, he certainly acted right. He, therefore, confined himself to *generalities;* and the Deputy Chairman (Mr. Thornton) exercised a sound discretion, in circumscribing his reply to those generalities. It would be an act of injustice to his own feelings, if he did not state, that the speech of the noble Lord breathed throughout a spirit of fairness and conciliation—a desire to mediate between conflicting parties; and, at least in appearance, seemed to declare the true

feelings of his mind, that the plan he was then propounding was the best calculated for the general interest of the empire. Still, however, it was no presumption in men like them, who, for so many years had attended to the interests of India, and who had, consequently, derived no inconsiderable degree of information on the subjects connected with the state of *that* empire, if they still persisted in maintaining those opinions, which had been, on former occasions, clearly laid down, and respectfully submitted;—opinions that brought them to this final question, whether they, and the principles on which they were founded, were still to be adhered to, as they had heretofore been?

He heard, with uncommon pleasure, the high compliments which the Noble Lord paid, not merely to the government of the Company abroad and at home; not merely to the rectitude of their administration in either region; but honestly and fairly imputing to the Company, that *they* had been the persons who raised this mighty empire; and that *they*, who had been the functionaries presiding over those immense territories, had governed their subjects with the most equitable and beneficent sway. (*Hear! hear!*). He would read from the speech of his Lordship, a passage of that description; and, if ever a mo-

tion were made in that Court, for an honorary inscription to the Company, nothing more appropriate, he was convinced, than that passage, could be selected. It ought to be written in letters of gold, as a justification, to all posterity, not merely of the course which the Company *had* pursued, but of the firmness with which they were *then* acting. "The Company," said his Lordship, "have raised a mighty empire, and they have governed it in the manner best calculated to promote the general interests of the state, and to produce and support the happiness of the extensive population entrusted to their care." (*Hear! hear!*) Now, if all the writers on moral philosophy, on political economy, and on ethics, of the best and purest nature, were to combine their abilities, to form a single proposition, declaratory of a pure and perfect government, he would defy them to state it in terms more forcible or comprehensive than those made use of by the noble Lord. His Lordship says of us, that *we*, the East-India Company, have raised an empire of proud importance to the country;—that *we*, the East-India Company, by our care have preserved that empire;—that *we*, the East-India Company, have introduced a government, not merely formed to uphold the greatness and splendour of the state—but that *we* have erected a

government which has perfectly answered the true end for which governments should be instituted, namely, one that has secured the complete safety, happiness and prosperity of the parties governed. —*(Hear! hear!)* If, then, the East-India Company be in itself so perfect—if its conduct be so honourable, so unimpeachable—if that body has administered the government of this proud empire in so unexceptionable a manner—the single question for every honest senator was, whether or not, that, which was now about to be proposed, would not risk the safety of the establishment so eloquently described? And whether the advantage which the commerce of the country might derive from throwing open the trade, bore any proportion to the risk which must inevitably be incurred?

The noble Lord, however, to induce those who heard him, to agree in the principle, that the opening the trade to the Outports would be a most judicious measure, stated three points for the consideration of the House of Commons; first, whether it would be for the benefit of the empire at large, that the trade should remain as it at present is? And, on this point, he (Mr. Jackson) would, by and by, request the attention of the Court, to what he would not call wilful mistatements—but to statements, which, if not met

by counter-observations, (and, he hoped, the indulgence of the Court, that day, would enable him to adduce some arguments to the purpose) might have the effect of perpetuating in the mind of Lord Castlereagh's auditors, that undue impression, which his Lordship's speech, in the first instance, was particularly calculated to produce. To advert then to the first query put by his Lordship, "whether it was for the interest of the empire, that the India trade should remain as at present constituted?" it must, at the first glance, strike every person, that, from the beginning to the end of this question, no notice whatever was taken of those great, and almost unlimited qualifications, which the Company expressed their willingness to agree to. It was not, therefore, a correct proposition—it was, in fact, begging the question. No person in that Court had contended that the trade should remain as it was. It was admitted, that it was capable of great and extensive modification; and, every gentleman who heard him would do him the justice to say, that, from the first moment he delivered his sentiments on the subject, he expressed himself to that effect—"Deepen the channel," said he, "as much as you please—widen it, enlarge it, if it be too narrow—but continue to preserve it. Let there not be an

indiscriminate commerce to India—if you endeavour to carry it on through a hundred different streams, some of them will become too mighty for your controul—they will overflow their feeble banks—they will bear down all opposition—and the violence of the deluge will risk the security of your whole establishment." Such were, and such would ever continue to be, his sentiments.

The second proposition was, "whether some intermediate course might not be adopted, between his Lordship's first, of leaving every thing as it now was," and his third, "whether or not, supposing the East-India Company refused to continue their functions, on the terms which would be proposed, some new instrument might not be formed, sufficient for every purpose which this country might require in the government of India?" "If, unhappily," said his Lordship, (and he (Mr. Jackson) reiterated the expression, for *unhappily* indeed it would be!) "the India Company should find it contrary to their interest, or against their inclinations, to continue the government of India, some other mode may be devised, to supersede them in those functions." But the noble Lord avoided even a hint as to the nature of the system which would be pursued, under the third proposition; from a feeling, perhaps, in which he (Mr. Jackson) warmly parti-

cipated, that the necessity for such an attempt would never occur; and, he was sure, there was not a member of the Court who did not cherish a similar hope. All the noble Lord said on that part of the subject was, that he differed from those who thought such an alteration difficult or impossible.—Now, with all deference to the abilities of the noble Lord, he (Mr. Jackson) concurred in opinion with those who looked upon the thing as impossible; and he dissented most completely from the noble Lord in considering such a change feasible. He did most conscientiously believe, that it was impossible to effect such a change, consistently with the interests of the country. He would now consider the intermediate proposition, which was of primary importance to the Company; and, having considered it, he would take the liberty of examining three or four statements of the noble Lord, on which he bottomed his view of the second question. Now, if he could prove, which he trusted he should be enabled to do, that those statements were inaccurate, it must, of course, affect the proposition purporting to be founded upon them. In taking this view of the subject, he wished to speak of the noble Lord with the highest possible respect. He believed, that it must have given sensible pleasure to the House of Commons,

to observe the complimentary manner in which the noble Lord deported himself towards this great Company; because he (Mr. Jackson) knew, that a strong opinion did exist in the mind of the public, that, in the negociation between His Majesty's Ministers and the East-India Company, a sort of private pique, a feeling of personal resentment, had entered into the minds of individuals of very great respectability, who were concerned in the discussion of this momentous question. If such feelings were permitted, he would not hesitate to say, that they were unbecoming the enlightened minds of statesmen, and were very unfairly indulged towards the Company, whose great anxiety had evidently been, to conduct themselves with the utmost respect towards the higher authorities of the state—and it was but justice to the Proprietors to say, that, from the first hour of the negociation, up to the time at which he had the honour of addressing them, they had divested themselves of all narrow and contracted feelings—they were not influenced by any consideration of the trumpery dividend upon their stock, which would not, perhaps, make a difference of £50 to any gentleman who heard him—they were actuated by more noble, more enlarged views—and *he* would not do them justice, who should hesitate to de-

clare, that the whole of their debates, the whole of their discussions, had been conducted with the national feelings of British citizens—with the feelings of citizens of a great Empire—looking to the general welfare of the state, and contemning all base and selfish suggestions of private interest.—*(Hear! hear!)*—Nay, what was more, he would venture to say, for the members of that Court, in general, as well as for himself, that, if any party detected them in such mean and narrow feelings, they would be willing to sink beneath a load of contempt.—If the public saw them contending on such narrow grounds, let them disclaim the Company—let them condemn their cause—let them cease to respect the arguments adduced in their favour. However well-founded those arguments might be, let them be considered as the reasonings of men, who had a private interest to promote,—however strong and powerful they might be, still let them be contemplated as proceeding from sordid and selfish motives—and, therefore, divested of that weight and authority ,which, under other circumstances, would be justly due to them. When the public should find them in that degraded situation, he (Mr. Jackson) would consent, that all they had spoken, and all they had published, should be blotted from remembrance, and that they should be treated

as persons, whose ideas were mean and grovelling, confined and local.

Before he proceeded to examine the second proposition, he thought it would be proper to notice the third resolution proposed by the noble Lord, and which, by the desire of their worthy Chairman, had been read a second time. The noble Lord had, in the most explicit and candid manner, declared, at once, what it was the intention of Government to do. His Lordship's speech did seem to him (Mr. Jackson) the speech of a British gentleman, proceeding from a clear head and a very honest heart—and he was sure the noble Lord would be rather *pleased* than *offended* with any observations which that speech might give rise to in the Court. For, in the outset of his speech he stated, that it was very likely His Majesty's Ministers, with the best intentions and the most honest purpose, might still fall short, in the opinion of those who had so much more experience in the affairs of the Indian empire than themselves, in proposing a plan calculated to meet all the exigencies of the case—and he fairly stated, that if any principle of action were proposed, by which the difficulties might be removed, he would most cheerfully listen to it.—Thus encouraged, he (Mr. Jackson) would make a few observations on some of his Lordship's propo-

sitions, which appeared to be founded on error; and which, he trusted, would meet the ears of his, the noble Lord's auditors, before they completely made up their minds on a subject of so much interest.

It would have been singular, after the eulogium which the noble Lord had pronounced on the Company, if he had not followed it up by such a proposition as that with which the series of Resolutions commenced,—" That it is expedient " that all the privileges, authorities, and im- " munities, granted to the United Company of " Merchants of England trading to the East " Indies, by virtue of any Act or Acts of Parlia- " ment now in force, and all rules, regulations, " and clauses affecting the same, shall continue " and be in force for the farther term of twenty " years, except as far as the same may herein- " after be modified and repealed." — And it would have been no less extraordinary, if the *Army* and the *China Trade*, as expressed in subsequent Resolutions, were not continued with the Company; for those who had read the correspondence attentively, could never conceive that it was the intention of Government to take away the Army and the China Trade. Indeed, there would have been no consistency, in talking of preserving the Company, at the same time

that they were bent upon taking that away, by which alone it was enabled to exist. It would have been a *solecism* in language; and he did not believe that either the one or the other was seriously meant to be done, provided it was really intended that the East India Company should still remain. That it was so intended, was clear; for his Lordship had declared, the great interests of the country imperatively demanded that the Indian government should exist—and that it should exist through the administration of the Company—for which purpose it was necessary that the Army and the China Trade should be preserved to them. But here arose an observation, which, by and by, it would be absolutely necessary for them to consider. Because, to say that the Company should possess a privilege, without leaving them the complete and perfect means of enjoying it, was falling into that sort of error, which the noble Lord had imputed to the Company, with respect to those merchants who desired to have a part of our trade.—If, therefore, it was intended to keep the China Trade perfect and entire, would it be proper to permit ships to proceed to all the Eastern Isles, and to enter the very mouth of the river of Canton? He had all along said, if this were the arrangement, that it was giving the Company the trade *in name* only, and not

in fact, that it was professing to concede to them the China trade, but accompanying it with such facilities for illicit traffick, as would render the advantageous enjoyment of it impossible. — *(Hear ! hear !)*—He had little doubt of proving, in the course of his speech, that it would be impossible to preserve the China trade, which was of so much importance to the Company and to the State, unless proper restrictions were introduced.—And, should his argument be successful, it was to be hoped, that Ministers would limit or alter the extent of permission to the Private Trader, so as not to affect the China trade, which his Lordship had been pleased to denominate a boon to the Company; and which, in another place, he stated, should not be altered, unless strong and urgent necessity were shewn for that purpose—unless it were made manifest, that the extension would be beneficial to the country at large, and that the safety of our Indian territories and of the revenue were not likely to be affected by it.—Now, if he could shew, that the indiscriminate access to the Eastern empire, which would be admitted by the proposed extension, was inconsistent with that safety, he conceived it would not be doing justice to the candour and frankness evinced by the noble Lord, if they did not conclude that his Lordship would agree to every necessary alteration.

The noble Lord had spoken of a sort of security against those dangers—not merely by an application of the Manifest Act, in places where manifests were never heard of—not merely by the introduction of revenue officers throughout the whole range of the Eastern Archipelago, by which the national revenues would be swallowed up—(which latter point was a matter of detail, that, in due time, would answer itself)—" but," says the noble Lord, (by way of security to the East-India Company) " the interest of the Company is most closely connected with that of the country—what is *income* to them, is *revenue* to us—when one is increased or diminished so is the other—we, therefore, are as deeply interested in the matter as you are—and the Government and the Company must naturally go so hand-in-hand; it is therefore extravagant to think we should suffer any circumstance to impair an income, which is absolutely necessary for the vital interests of the State." In answer to this, he (Mr. Jackson) would ask, what would the Government do,—what could they do,—when the unlimited access to the Eastern trade had established a system, which was above their control?—*(Hear! hear!)*—It would be then too late to say to the East-India Company, " we have as quick, as sensible, as vital feelings, for the prosperity of the *revenue*

as you have for the security of your *income!*"—for, when once this extension was allowed,—when once those facilities were granted, it would be as much above the power of the Government as of the East-India Company, to remedy the evil.—*(Hear! hear!)*—Government might then rightly estimate and form very accurate calculations of the loss—but to put an end to the mischief would exceed their utmost ability—therefore, unless, at some future period of this discussion, the noble Lord could place, beyond all sober apprehension, the perfect security and complete existence of the China Trade, before any other step was taken—unless he could shew the Legislature, and the House of Commons in particular, that the description of access to which he had referred, would not endanger the power and revenue of the country, beyond the authority of Ministers to check its ruinous effects—unless he could do this, he would not have performed so much as that House of Commons had a right to expect and to demand, before they were satisfied of the wisdom of his measure. They ought to say, "We cannot grant what you desire, unless you demonstrate, that, if evil consequences are likely to ensue, you will be able to prevent them."—*(Hear! hear!)* He knew that the private trader would not be admitted to go to

China for any article—but he also knew, that they might assort their cargoes with any Chinese productions, *tea* only excepted. This liberty was about to be conceded by those who must be perfectly aware, that the numerous islands in the Eastern Sea would be the place to which the private traders would resort for the purpose of procuring Chinese cargoes. And thus it was left to the common sense of every person to decide on the probable course which would be pursued. Here was a large body of men, possessing a most enterprising spirit, and having the command of capital, by which that spirit would be enabled to exert itself. These men proceeded to the Eastern Islands, nay, they visited the whole coast, for an assortment of articles. Under these circumstances, he would ask any man, whether it was not likely that an illicit trade would be carried on; and that great part of their cargoes, in point of value at least, would be Tea? Eight or ten pounds of that article could be contained in the paper which he held in his hand; and, by such a traffic the duty of 95 per cent. would be saved. Yet the noble Lord himself allowed, that if this illegal trade, the temptation to which was immense, could not be prevented, it would be dangerous to the interests of the Company, and no less

so to those of the empire.—(*Hear! hear!*) He must be a confident minister indeed, if he supposed that smuggling of this profitable description *could* be prevented. Smuggling did he call it? That was too mild a term—it was robbery—robbery of income and of revenue! And, unless the noble Lord had nerves more firm than any man who loved his country as he (Mr. Jackson) did, he could not contemplate even the possibility of such evils, without shuddering.—(*Hear! hear!*) Government might depend on the Report of the Commissioners of Customs, who thought those mischiefs impossible to be averted, and that the indiscriminate access to India must produce danger—he protested therefore against the granting the China trade, in name, when, by the license which accompanied it, it was not conceded in fact. The Court must see the necessity of laying before His Majesty's Government, more information, and more argument on the question, if more could be laid before them; and better, if, indeed better could be produced. The only course left for them was to bring forward evidence at the bar of the House; but they must not run away with the false idea, that the China trade was conceded to them, perfect and entire. If there were any thing like reality in his apprehensions,

the China trade, as he had before observed, would be theirs only in name, but not in fact.— *(Hear! hear!)*

The noble Lord he said proceeded to state, that His Majesty's Ministers continued most firm and decided in their opinion, that the *exports* should be from every port of the United Kingdom, to every port and every place on the continent of India (Canton excepted), within the limits of the Company's charter, and he seemed to have no doubt but that the right of import should be equally extensive.—As to the *imports*, his Lordship observed, if there were fifty ports to which they could be admitted, so much the better, as soon as such ports had satisfied His Majesty's Privy Council, that they were provided with docks and warehouses, where the goods might be bonded, consistently with the safety of the revenue.—Therefore, all the evils of which the Company had complained—all the evils which their Directors had so unanimously and so eloquently stated—and the truth of which, after so much deliberation, the Court had concurred in confirming; all those evils continued to be threatened, in the broadest and most unqualified manner. If they had stated their apprehensions, that the extending the trade to India would be dangerous—the evil still remained. If they contended, that this

mutilated commerce would leave them but with the name of the China trade—that source of complaint still existed—and even in a more aggravated degree;—for he recollected, a very few months back, it was not contemplated to grant the liberty of importing India produce to more than four or five ports of the United Kingdom, which were named as the best, although exploded as very bad, by the commissioners; but now, that principle was abandoned —and the liberty was to be extended to every port, which His Majesty's Privy Council might deem proper. These were the dangers which threatened their existence—these were the dangers which they were called upon, in justice to themselves and to their country, to encounter—and such was their situation, that they must even "fight upon their stumps," in opposition to them. But he did not despair, because he thought many of the grounds on which the noble Lord had founded his views of the question, would fail him, when the argument came on in the House of Commons. One point on which he thought the noble Lord would not succeed in bringing his auditors over to his opinion, was that respecting the danger to be dreaded from the access of strangers to India. The noble Lord said, "I do not apprehend that danger from indiscriminate access which the East-India Company

seem to fear. And why am I callous to those fears, which were confessed, under the signature of His Majesty's Ministers, up to a certain period? why do I not feel them? Because the Directors of the East-India Company themselves have conceded the export trade,—they have conceded that all the individuals of the United Kingdom should be at liberty to export goods to India, through the medium of their own vessels, without limit or restraint from the Company; consequently, from their having agreed to such a proposition, they could have no fears of any evil resulting from this indiscriminate access."

Now, he would ask, was this a true, or just, or correct reason? In the first place, those who had read the correspondence between the Court of Directors and His Majesty's Ministers, would find that the former set out with deprecating all the evils which they apprehended from indiscriminate access; they stated their fears that intrigue would take place and faction be likely to break out in the Indian territory, in consequence of the free admission of Europeans. This was a fear inseparable from a knowledge of that intellectual activity and enterprise which characterised his countrymen; it was an apprehension which justly arose from a contemplation of that ardent love of liberty,

which, though sublime in its proper sphere, was most dangerous, if misapplied by those who might wish to introduce, what they conceived to be freedom and the rights of man, amongst persons living under a very different system; they had deprecated, in the strongest terms, the mischiefs which such an innovation must inevitably produce. Lord Melville, in his answer to those remonstrances, had said, in substance—" If this be the case, if the British merchant shall not be permitted to export goods in his own ships to India, it is in vain that we meet. Part of your letter turns on a very important point, the amount of your debt, and the pecuniary aid you require; but I will not meet you even on this subject, as it is in vain for us to communicate on any general proposition, with regard to India, unless you are prepared to agree to the terms which have been stated; and I tell you candidly and fairly, His Majesty's Ministers will not recommend to Parliament a renewal of your Charter, unless you concede the points demanded." The Hon. Chairman and Deputy Chairman, who then conducted the negociation, in a masterly paper, founded in a perfect conception of the subject, the result of long study and experience, and couched in language highly respectful; a paper, which he (Mr. Jackson) felt very great happiness in reading, as it was, in truth, a master-piece of its kind—

answered the letter of Lord Melville. "If," said they, "your Lordship will not treat with us on any other preliminaries, but the allowing an export trade in the ships of the private merchant, we must agree.— Although, to shew your Lordship how willing the Company has been to increase that trade to any useful extent, it may not be improper to state, that of three thousand tons of shipping annually provided for the private merchants, scarcely one-third has been used. Having observed thus much, it would be rude to fence about the matter farther—you drive us to a conclusion against our better judgment. But, as many subjects of great importance to the Company (particularly their pecuniary arrangements) await our acquiescence, we give our reluctant assent to this hard bargain." But, in justification of the Directors, and he (Mr. Jackson) hoped the fact would be made known to every member of the House of Commons, all those dangers which the Company deprecated, all those evils which were foreseen in an early part of the discussion, and which were repeatedly pressed on the attention of His Majesty's Ministers, continued to occupy the minds of those who conducted the Company's affairs; although, through necessity, they yielded to the strong power of Ministers. [The learned gentleman here read a copious extract from the letter of the

Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, of the 4th of March 1812, in answer to Lord Melville's specific proposition of the 17th Dec. 1811, that the "ships as well as goods of private merchants should be admitted into the trade with India."—In this they state, that they will, though with great reluctance, lay the proposition before the Court of Proprietors—they again express their conviction of the danger to be apprehended from this course both to the Company and the public, and refer to the arguments contained in their letter of the 13th of January, 1809.]

These, continued Mr. Jackson, were the sentiments of a forced agreement procured under a threat of non-intercourse, and it was not a little worthy of remark, that, even at this time, not a word was said by Ministers on the necessity of admitting the *import* trade to the Outports. Even in the observation upon the sixth proposition of the Court of Directors, which was made at a subsequent period, *viz.* 21st March, 1812, the *imports* were still to be confined to the Port of London. Nor was it till the same date that Ministers expressed their intention, that "the ships of private traders should clear out from other ports of the United Kingdom, besides the Port of London." Now, it did seem to him almost impossible to argue, from a concession so very

limited as that which he had stated, that the *Directors themselves*, as Lord Castlereagh asserted, had removed every apprehension of individual access, by allowing the *export* trade to India to be extended—their language being, " that it was a reluctant consent, only obtained by an assurance on the part of His Majesty's Ministers, that they would not agree to recommend the renewal of the Company's Charter without a concession of this point."—What do the Directors say ?—" We do not consent—we will submit the question to the Court of Proprietors. We, at the same time, again state all the dangers to which we apprehend the measure will give birth; and we cast upon you the difficulty of discovering some adequate mode of prevention." This was the plain meaning of the language which they held. Without, therefore, going into the merits of the question of unlimited exportation, it was of great importance that the public should be made acquainted with this fact, that the Company never ceased to apprehend the most extensive dangers from such an alteration, and that they repeated every one of them, whenever an opportunity occurred, with the most conscientious conviction of their being well-founded;—so that it was impossible for Government to believe that they ever abandoned their original apprehensions.

This fact was further proved, by the conduct which was observed in respect to the sixth proposition of the Court of Directors. It would be remembered, that the Court submitted certain propositions to the Government, as the basis for the renewal of the Charter. Of these the sixth was: "That the whole of the India trade should be brought to the port of London, and the goods sold at the Company's sales," &c. The answer to which was a full assent. While the first hint in direct contradiction to the eight proposition was to be found in Lord Melville's letter of the 21st of March, in which he observed, that he was not convinced of any reason for limiting the exports to the port of London. To which it was answered, that no sufficient reason had been offered to warrant the departure from that principle. This took place in March, 1812. Therefore, he contended, on the part of the Court of Directors, that when Lord Castlereagh asserted the Company to have abated one jot of their original apprehensions, he had completely misstated them. And every member of the House of Commons, who gave a vote on the suggestion, that the Company themselves entertained no fears on the subject of the projected alterations—they who certainly might be considered the most competent authority on the question,—such member acted on a wrong presumption, and proceeded upon a mistaken foundation.

There were some other points in his Lordship's speech, which equally demanded observation. The noble Lord proceeded to state certain reasons for the alteration which he contemplated; some of which were just as much misstated as that which he had already noticed. He observed, that it was wholly unreasonable that the present trade to India, comprising nearly one half of the habitable globe, should be carried on by the limited capital of the East-India Company, and that of foreigners. Much had been said of the extended allowances given to foreigners. He (Mr. Jackson) had always expressed his hope, that when the Charter should be renewed, it would be to an *English*, and not an *American*, East-India Company. *(Hear! hear!)* He was one of the number who lamented, when those privileges were granted to the Americans; because he considered them as directly operating against the navigation laws, which, he was old-fashioned enough to think, in preference to the new theories and systems that were springing up around them, were, in fact, the very staff of our maritime existence. *(Hear!)* A relaxation from those privileges, he considered as the means of teaching the Americans to beat us; but, whatever evils it had produced, could not be charged to the East-India Company. The acts by which they

were allowed did not proceed from them; they came from the west end of the town, the result of all the wisdom and experience on Indian affairs which was collected there; and the Company were obliged to comply with them. *(Hear! hear!)* When this was the case, he was astonished that the noble Lord, possessing so much candour and fairness, should allege against the Company, the granting of this trade to foreigners, knowing, as he must, that it was imputable to the Government, and not to them. Neither should he have forgotten, that, however objectionable in other points the foreign trade might be, it had brougt immense quantities of bullion into India, where it was imperatively required. He wished, however, that this trade should be transferred to the hands of the British merchant, but through a wholesome and legitimate channel. He had always contended, that whenever the industry, and management, and care, and capital, of the East-India Company should fail to extend the trade to its utmost limits, and he still held the same opinion, that the next preference should be given to the merchant who walked the Royal Exchange, and not to foreigners. He never would stand up in that Court, or elsewhere, to argue against permitting the British subject to participate in that trade; all he maintained was, that it should be

carried on through that medium which the Legislatures had experienced it could controul, and not through channels, which, he foresaw, they never could govern. His Lordship had observed, which was one of his *ad captandum* arguments, that the private-trade to India was almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners. How could his Lordship reason in that way, with a paper in his hand, shewing that the private and privileged British trade had increased in a few years, from £180,000 to £1,200,000 per annum? And that, since the commencement of the present Charter, it had amounted to the sum of £33,000,000. Was this trade carried on by the capital of foreigners? So far, therefore, there was a misstatement; and he trusted the House of Commons would be convinced of it. What! no capital but that of the Company and of foreigners, when no less than £33,000,000, independent of bullion, had been ret rned in the British privileged and private-trade, within the last twenty years? *(Hear! hear!)*

His Lordship said, "The Company have asserted, that they have extended their commerce to India, as far as possible; but I, differing from them, having at heart the interest of the country at large, think they have not; and, therefore, the public ought to be admitted to try what can be affected by their exertions."

Surely this was begging the question. Have the Company said, at any one period, that they had extended their trade to the utmost? Did not he (Mr. Jackson) say, in answer to a gentleman near him (Mr. Hume) that the privileged import trade had increased, in a few years, from £180,000 to £1,200,000? He had always stated the possibility of increase, with this difference from those who were the advocates of *speculation* and *theory*, that it should be a gradual, regular, progressive increase—not a sudden, adventitious increase, followed by a depression no less sudden. The Company had said, and all experience had shewn, that the former was the only wise and beneficial increase; and every thing which could tend to produce that increase of the trade, the Company had expressed themselves willing to do, and in fact had done. The candour of the noble Lord would, he hoped, admit, that this charge, with respect to the China trade, was equally erroneous. To prove the elasticity of trade, (a principle which he always allowed, only premising that it should be conducted through a proper channel), it had been observed by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume), that according to the statements of the Directors, the commerce with China never could exceed 5 or £600,000 per annum, but yet it had latterly gone infinitely beyond that sum.

And he had asked, if the Directors had been taken at their word at that time, what would they have said, when they saw the trade exceeding £1,500,000? This again was begging the question. The Directors had never expressed the opinion which was attributed to them; and it was a fact which could not be shaken, that, at the very time it was imputed to them, that they did not think the China trade could be farther improved, the Company had fitted out one of the most expensive embassies ever dispatched from this country, for the purpose of endeavouring to accomplish that, which they were most unjustly described as having considered impossible.—(*Hear! hear!*) On a former day, he had put a question on this subject to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume),—a question, which if he had had the honour of a seat in the House of Commons, he certainly would have stated as strongly and forcibly as possible. He had asked, supposing, at the time it was imputed to the Company, that they believed it impossible to increase the trade to China beyond £600,000 a year, (an assertion which they never did make—for they had always acted on the presumption of an increase, and used every endeavour to promote it; —a grateful nation, amongst other benefits, would never forget, though ignorance or prejudice might,

that, for many years, the Company exported, at an immense loss, articles of British manufacture, merely for the purpose of assisting the manufacturers of this country—a noble trait of liberality, which could only be found in great bodies, like the East-India Company, and could not be expected either from the inclination or capacity of individuals);—supposing, then, at the time it was imputed to the Company, that they believed the exports to China could not be farther increased, the gentlemen from Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, (he now spoke of the sober petitioners only) had procured access to Ministers, persuaded them that the trade was capable a vast increase, and that they had been permitted to proceed to China, in the same way as they were at present about to be permitted to go to India; he asked his honorable friend (Mr. Hume) as well as the forms of debate would allow him—of him who had resided long in India—who had paid great attention to the affairs of that country, and who had procured a vast deal of useful information—he had asked him, as a man of honor and a gentleman, did he think, if such permission to proceed to China had been granted, that the China trade would have existed at the present day? His honorable friend had answered, "he believed it would not."

The conduct of the adventurers would have destroyed it;—the use made of such a privilege must have annihilated it. This was a very honorable and a very honest admission, but no more than what he had a right to expect from the candour of his honorable friend; and, he trusted, it would be pressed, in its proper place, as a point of great importance.

The noble Lord asserted, that the *only* way of extending the trade to India, was by throwing it open. This really was the broad hardship of which the Company had to complain, that their sentiments on the subject had not been stated. *All parties* concurred in the desire of extending the trade; and it was with some surprise, and much regret, he observed that, throughout the whole of the noble Lord's arguments, he did not even hint at any alteration or modification, for the purpose of progressively and safely enlarging the trade to India—No: his only remedy was what he called "opening of it." Now, was it not incumbent on the noble Lord, and was it not incumbent on His Majesty's Ministers, before they made such a proposition, to prove, that *all* the trade which it was possible, not to *expect*, but to *have*, could not be embraced through the East-India Company, be kept within the limits and capacity of their control? It was said, difficulties had been thrown in the way of the private adventurers, which ought

not to exist. For argument sake, be it so;—let them be removed.

There was also an argument of affection and kindness sometimes made use of:—"you lose by the trade; you are at a great expense, annually, in providing 3,000 tons of shipping, for individuals, who do not thank you for it; you may easily be lightened from this charge."—Be it so—let the private trader freight his own ship—choose his own agent—select his own medium—by this means the Company would be freed from the expense. But it was a little singular to say, provided the merchant used his own ship, and selected his own medium of trade, that there was no other way of extending the commerce of India, but by throwing it unrestrictedly open. On that point, the Company and the government were at issue: and, he trusted, that such evidence would be produced before the House of Commons, as would shew a perfect capacity of extending the trade to India, supposing it to be capable of extension, *bona fide*, and without shackles, and, at the same time, preventing those dangers which were apprehended. He spoke of real and decided means for the extension of the trade, if the thing were possible—for he agreed that it would be most improper

"To keep the word of promise to the ear,
"And break it to the heart!"

If private adventurers were to be admitted, in their own ships, he thought it should be to the fullest extent. But when the noble Lord said this could only be by opening the trade from every port to every port, he (Mr. Jackson) besought him to suspend his judgment, till the Company had an opportunity of shewing, that it could be extended as occasion might require, and, at the same time, retain its original channel. The reason the noble Lord gave for thus opening the trade, did not appear to him to be quite correct nor candid. He asserted, that the capital of the East-India Company was not equal to an increase of its trade. But the fact was not as it had been stated—the Company were equal to what they undertook—and, on this point, the statement made, on that day, by the hon. Chairman, was deserving of particular notice. " Let the commercial capital of the Company be appropriated to commercial purposes, and it is perfectly sufficient. But, if you, *the State*, having a control over our funds, command us to divert them to other pursuits—though they may be the means of supporting your pride and glory—though they may enable you, the House of Commons, to exclaim, " behold the mighty empire we possess!" still, undoubtedly, in a commercial point of view, we are injured by this diversion of our

revenue." The State, however, had no right to turn round on the Company and say, "you have performed great achievements for your country, but they have swallowed up those funds which should have been devoted to commerce; that commerce, therefore, must be taken from you." The Company might answer such ingratitude thus:—" cease to divert our commercial capital to political purposes, and it will be amply sufficient. If our trade is then narrowed, reproach us with it; but do not divest our funds, and afterwards accuse us with that which yourselves have occasioned." (*Hear! hear!*)

This part of his argument the noble Lord endeavoured to illustrate by what he called a reference to fact, which, however, failed him. He stated, as a proof of the Company's want of capital, that they had been obliged to resort to the money market of India, where they borrowed at 12 per cent. not for political, but for commercial, purposes. Some of the money which was procured, Mr. Jackson admitted, might have been employed, *eo nomine*, to increase investments. —But how was this occasioned? Because a part of the money, primarily intended for investments, *was* diverted, by superior orders, to political purposes. " The state compels you to divest part of your territorial revenues; and because you borrow

money to supply the deficiency thus created, it is directed against you as a reproach!—*(Hear! hear!)*—It is certainly true, in fact; because you applied the sums, originally intended for investments, to the support of armies in the field, and other warlike purposes, that you have made good the deficit by loans. And, therefore, it is argued, that you have borrowed money for commercial purposes, and an *ergo* follows, that you have not capital enough to carry on your commerce."—*(Hear! hear!)* But he was not without hope, from the candour of the noble Lord's disposition, that he would see the fact in its true light, and become convinced of the injustice which was done to the Company.

The noble Lord, in a most constitutional manner, and in the very spirit of all that had been said, by Lord Melville, Mr. Pitt, and other great and eminent patriots, and in opposition to a variety of intimations which had been held out *in terrorem*, admitted that, in a certain point of view, it was necessary and expedient that the patronage of India should remain with the Company. He did not think it a safe deposit to be entrusted with any administration; and he broadly stated this as a reason for placing the patronage abroad, in the hands of those who had always made so just a use of it.—*(Hear! hear!)* Now when the Court recollected, that, in one of

the letters transmitted to the President of the Board of Controul this very point was touched upon; when it was recollected, that the reasoning adduced in that letter (to shew the danger which would probably result to the constitution, if the patronage of India was not suffered to remain with the Company) was treated with the most bitter sarcasm; when it was satirically observed by the nobleman, with whom they were in correspondence, "that it was very kind in them (the East-India Company) to interfere for the safety and protection of the constitution, but that even, should the Company cease to exist, the constitution would still go on;" or words to that effect, for something like this might, he believed, be found, in the answer of the noble Lord;—although the Directors were not giving any sentiments of their own, but literally quoting those of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, and stating their coincidence in that opinion;—under these circumstances, it must be highly gratifying to them to see Lord Castlereagh coming forward, and, by his constitutional and patriotic declaration, saying "that the patronage of India, and the liberties of England, would not be consistent with each other, if the same persons presided over both," clearly proving the misapplication of those sarcastic remarks—*(Hear! hear!)*

His Lordship had observed, that very great modification would still be necessary.—To this the Company had no objection. They agreed to as large and as liberal a modification as could be consistently required; all they demanded was, to preserve the channel through which the trade had so long and so beneficially flowed. Now it might be supposed, that he (Mr. Jackson) wished it to be confined to that medium, for the purpose of deriving the profit of some two or three hundred thousand pounds a year from it:—but it was not so.—And here the noble Lord furnished him with an argument—an argument founded on the wisdom and experience of all the eminent men who had been employed in India—an argument, which, while it shewed the necessity of continuing the trade in its present channel, fully developed the dangers which the Company dreaded. He might state the argument boldly in that Court, without apprehending the mischief, which, were it less familiar, it would perhaps produce, if it reached the ears of an Indian chieftain—he meant the maxim that "*the empire of India, is dependent upon opinion.*" It is a government, by which, as was very justly observed in the House of Commons, 1600 persons ruled over from 50 to 60,000,000. It was true, the Company possessed an army, never exceeded for loyalty or

courage—never excelled for any quality which a general could desire in his troops, or a country hope for in its defenders—*(Hear! hear!)* —but still the government of India was a government of opinion! — Let him, then, who believed it to be a government of opinion, lay his hand upon his heart, and ask himself, if the detracting from the dignity of the East-India Company, by taking away that commerce by which its greatness was upheld, would not so lower the *opinion* of its firmness, stability, and power, in the eyes of the natives of India, as to endanger the safety and security of our eastern empire?—*(Hear! hear!)*—Was it likely, when the natives of that country saw an indiscriminate host of traders coming to deal amongst them, that they would retain their present respect for our character? Would they not contrast the meanness of all they saw with the splendour which once shone around the East-India Company? Would they not lose that feeling of veneration, the great engine of authority, when they saw that that authority no longer existed in the Company — when they no longer beheld in them the advancers of money, the anticipating purchasers of their manufactures, the upholders of fair and liberal prices from their two-fold character of sovereign

and merchant,—the dispensers of innumerable blessings, the promoters of comfort, the undeviating advocates of justice?. With the information which they would soon possess upon the whole of this subject, was it to be supposed that they would continue to preserve the same ideas of the Company's grandeur and munificence which they now manifested? If they did not, then, *ergo*, the government of the Company, this government of opinion, must inevitably fall.—That government, the very existence of which was then threatened, supplied an annual revenue to the country of about £4,500,000. It was, (continued the learned Gentleman,) a mistake in the paper which he held in his hand which stated it at £3,500,000—it was one of those misprints, which should be properly corrected and rightly understood by the public. When they (*the public*) knew the wonderful stake which they had in the existence of the East-India Company—when they saw a sum, not of £3,500,000, but of almost £4,500,000, confessedly put in peril, —they ought to know exactly what advantage they were likely to derive from the risk. When they saw such a sum placed in jeopardy, to satisfy those who did not even affect to possess any experience—to support their suggestions—they ought not to be influenced by the plausibility of their doctrines, or the artfulness of their reason-

ing.—Let them contemplate the Company, pouring their extensive wealth into the coffers of the state:—let them view that great body emptying this immense *cornucopia* into the treasury of the country, almost without an effort on the part of the Government:—let them do this, and they would then easily decide between the Company and their accusers—*(Hear! hear!)*.—Another reason which had been adduced by the noble Lord to support the necessity of throwing open the trade, was, the possibility of a great Company growing too large for its original and particular powers. He thought none of those whom he addressed could have any other feeling, but that the mighty empire, which the noble Lord feared would grow too great and powerful, must moulder under the regulations proposed by him.

But when his Lordship argued, that the East India Company was growing too large for itself; that its commerce, as well as its internal arrangements, were become too bulky for its own welfare, and that any increase of commerce would aggravate the evil thus complained of, he must beg to deny that proposition: for, in answer to this mistaken idea, he would refer his Lordship to the best of all authorities,—to the reports and representations of the executive body. Let the noble Lord call before him the Company's officers and the Direc-

tors, and he (Mr. Jackson) would risk the whole question upon the result of his enquiry from them, whether, since the private and privilege trade of the Company had increased, in a ratio of from £180,000 to about £3,000,000 per annum, the alarm had not completely failed, and that in the same proportion was the ability of the Company to manage their affairs shown to be strengthened and increased. He would rest the wholequestion upon this examination. For his own part, he hesitated not to state, that since its trade had increased and its commercial relations extended, the whole system of regulation had not merely improved but flourished: indeed, he would only refer to an honorable gentleman near him (Mr. Hume), whose statements upon the subject he was happy to acknowledge to be not only correct, but highly important, for the confirmation of what he advanced. Surely then, the noble Lord would not put his mistaken authority, and perhaps erroneous information, in competition with the judges upon the subject; judges who would inform him, that the policy adopted by the East India Company was such, that as their affairs became multifarious, so regularity and arrangement had enabled them to make the true advantage of every accession to their establishmant. The excellence of the system adopted by the Company

was such, that while it was well contrived it was as well executed. Why, then, if it was allowed that when their commerce was infinitely increased, with the extension of their territorial boundaries; if the same wisdom and salutary arrangement in their affairs had followed the ratio of their increased property; who was the man that would say, judging from experience, that the Company's affairs were becoming too extensive, and too large for their own weight? It would be unnecessary for him to point out the arrangement adopted for the increase of the trade and commerce of the Company. Sufficient it was to observe that docks, wharfs, warehouses, and every convenience had been erected, to meet the exigencies of an increasing and flourishing system. The argument, therefore, would follow, if the opinions of those who thought like his Lordship were adopted,—that although, to a certain extent, the Company's affairs had become better and better, yet if they went farther, they would grow worse and worse. (*Hear! hear!*)

The noble Lord had said that there was great necessity for retrenchment in the Company's expences. He, himself, for one, had no doubt of its necessity. He knew it had been reiterated, from the side of the bar at which he addressed the Court, as an argument that would be likely to

have weight with Ministers, that there must be *great* retrenchment.—Be it so. He was satisfied that there was no objection on the part of the Company; on the contrary, there was a most anxious wish on their part to adopt every measure calculated to reduce their expences, as far as consistent with the real interests of the Company. They would never (he was persuaded) allow such an argument as this to remain in the hands of Government for refusing them their assistance. He knew the Company to be serious in their intentions in this respect; because recent accounts had shewn, that the executive Government had introduced the most wholesome and politic regulations; and they had, in a great degree, perhaps in a wonderful degree, accomplished this desirable object. Though aware, as he was, of the expensive political arrangements which had taken place, yet by the Company's last accounts of their surplus fund, when it was not expected to be more than *half* a million, it amounted to *one million and a half.* The work, therefore, of economical arrangement having begun in so surprising a manner, to the advantage of the Country and the Company, he only invited them most earnestly, to carry the principle into execution, as far as a reference to the liberal and wholesome support of their establishments

would honorably and advantageously allow.—Indeed, such a suggestion was unnecessary, when it was recollected *who* were the honorable persons at the head of affairs and had the conducting of their internal arrangements. Principles of sound policy as well as of justice would dictate to *them* a course of conduct upon which, they knew, must depend the strength, the welfare, and the stability of the Indian Empire.

There was another point in the noble Lord's resolutions he should advert to, or rather merely mention, that it might not be said he either passed it over or that he committed himself upon it. The point he alluded to, was upon the subject of Religion. It was intended by these resolutions to have a Bishop and three Archdeacons introduced into the establishment in India. If he knew any thing of his own way of feeling, no man was more desirous than he was, that every Christian should have means of adoring his God, according to the principles that he professed, and according to the faith that he might have been instructed in. No man in that Court, he had no hesitation in saying, felt more than he did, the impolicy as well as the injustice of a rash and improvident introduction of spiritual teachers among the nations of the East. But, at the same time, if he knew himself, no man would more sincerely rejoice over an igno-

rant Pagan brought from the darkness of his superstition into the light of Christianity than he would; because he knew that such a change would give him happiness here and secure eternal blessings to him hereafter. It would be inconsistent with all those ordinary feelings of humanity, with the philanthropy which he was sure had always distinguished the Company in every stage, and in every step of its policy, if (always avoiding the rash progress of intemperate zeal) they did not wish to promote the interests of true Religion; and, if he knew any thing of the history of the Company, it had shewn that there was always a disposition, on the part of the executive Government, to extend the blessings of divine truth wherever they would be received in India; and he still hoped that the same spirit would actuate the conduct of the future Government of that country, which had characterized the present and former Governments, with so much pious and christian feeling. He was quite satisfied there was a proper disposition in the Company to pay every degree of deference and respect to the hierarchy and the system of church government in this country: but, at the same time, every man knew that there was a natural disposition in mankind to aspire to place, to power, and to authority. The Company, and all men, had seen

that even the *Clergy* were not exempt from that feeling, in this country; and that they sought after those dispensations of the Government under which we lived. It must be obvious, that it would be difficult, in the present state of the world, to preserve spiritual humility uninfluenced by temporal ambition: and any man of common sense must see the same disposition which marked the Clergy at home must adhere to them abroad. He felt every disposition in the world, to pay due honor and reverence to the hierarchy and clergy of this country; but when he understood it was intended to introduce a Bishop and three Archdeacons into India, he thought he should not discharge his duty as an honest man, if he did not say that it was a matter which deserved the most serious consideration. His present impressions were, that it was highly necessary to the welfare of a state to have such an established religion, and that such religion should be governed with due subordination and upon principles consistent with its own safety. For his own part, he should like to see every unassuming, every pious pastor of the Church, well remunerated and provided for. The example of every other state of Europe bore testimony to the policy and the wisdom of making a national provision for the Clergy. But he confessed,

for one, he did not want to introduce into our East India territories, and our religious establishment in that country, that sort of high and vaunting ambition, which he knew to be inseparable from the possession of church dignity; and it did seem to him that the proposed germ of episcopal grandeur would, at no very distant time, spread itself wide, and interweave its branches with the very government and politics of India. It was impossible to disconnect lofty ambition from high station: and whether that high station be given to a churchman or to a man in civil authority, ambition, and love of power, could not be separated from the possessors of exalted situations and places of great trust. He merely suggested these observations with a view to impress upon the Court the necessity of considering, with becoming seriousness, a matter of such vast importance to the internal peace and welfare of our Indian territorial possessions.

He was now going to observe upon another point which he thought was of very serious moment. It was this: that though it was proposed by Ministers in the most unlimited degree, and though it was pressed upon the House of Commons by arguments of great earnestness, in point of policy and justice, that

all the people of the British Empire, from every port in Great Britain, ought to be allowed to trade to our East Indian ports,—(which ports, by the way, it was to be recollected, were all the Company's, either by purchase or legal cession)—that although they were to be allowed to trade to all our ports, to make use of all our harbours, to occupy our wharfs and warehouses, and to make use of all those conveniences erected by the Company for its own commerce, which had cost them so much pains, time, trouble, expense, and difficulty to complete, and by which the strength of their armies were required to protect and secure from the inroads of invading enemies;—to all these advantages, which had cost the India Company so many millions, were the new adventurers to be admitted:—yet there was not the most distant hint at *remuneration*, from one end of the noble Lord's speech to the other! Now, he confessed, he could not say that this savoured very much of justice. However, he must attribute so important an omission to inadvertency and the pressure of other matters upon the mind of the noble Lord: he could not suppose that His Majesty's Ministers would deliberately tell the East India Company that they were to give up all these advantages for nothing.

Most honorable men they were in their private characters, and therefore he could not anticipate such a conclusion to the negociation upon this subject. Others might dispute their claims to talent and political consequence. This was no theatre to discuss such points: but he believed there was no dissentient voice in that Court from his opinion, that there never was an administration which composed a greater body of private worth, of private character, of honesty and upright intention, than distinguished the present administration. (*Hear! hear!*) The noble Lord at the head of Indian affairs would forgive him if he had treated his official letters with any thing like severity of remark, but the least doubt of his integrity was a feeling he could not manifest with any degree of justice to his own intentions; because he believed that, in point of private worth and honor, that noble Lord would yield to none: therefore, from their virtue, their liberality, their integrity, and above all, their JUSTICE, he expected much. He was persuaded that when such a proposition as that which he would now put, was suggested to their honorable minds, their feelings of probity and justice must prompt them to consider this part of the subject in a manner more conducive to the interests of the Company. Was the Company, he

would say to the noble Lord, to receive no compensation for all those advantages that had cost them so much blood and treasure?—the latter of which, it was said, amounted to at least £20,000,000 of money? Were they to receive no remuneration from those who were thus to derive these advantages which the Company had, during a period of a hundred years and more, acquired by the most active industry — by the most liberal expence—by a profuse effusion of blood—by enduring the greatest hardships and anxieties—by sustaining the greatest losses—and by all those exertions which had characterized the enterprising spirit of an enterprising Company? Were the advantages of a commerce almost ready made to their hands, with all the implements and convenience of carrying it on with advantage to themselves—were all these objects, he asked, to be ceded to the merchants of the Outports, without the least remuneration for the advantages to be so acquired? Now, for his own part, he would willingly put that consideration to the merchants of Liverpool, the merchants of Glasgow, and all the sober and rational petitioners against the East India Charter.—He made this distinction of *sober* and *rational,* because, as he had already noticed, on another accasion, there were two species of petitions,—namely, the sober com-

mercial petitions, and the *poetical* petitions. *(A burst of laughter.)* The *poetical* petitions, he confessed, contained flights of fancy which were beyond his humble comprehension. It was true the sober commercial petitions contained points to which he did not subscribe; but he believed there was no man out of *St. Luke's Hospital* could subscribe to the others, when they came seriously to be considered. (*Bursts of laughter.*) These poetico-politico petitioners were pleased to consider, that every species, and every description of colonial regulation was an *usurpation of the inherent and unalienable rights of man*; and they desired that the East India Company should be pulled down and completely effaced, as a political and moral nuisance. That East India Company, which Lord Castlereagh said had raised an empire for its country, of a kind unexampled in the history of the world! that East India Company upon whose policy and upon whose government Lord Castlereagh had bestowed such just praise—but yet which these gentlemen were pleased, in their *wise* notions of political œconomy, to designate as " a political and a moral nuisance". But the more grave and circumspect petitions, such as those from Liverpool, Glasgow, and other places (which he would not trouble the Court by naming), demanded, and were indeed entitled to a fair

degree of consideration, as well from the Company as from the Country. To *them* he should feel no hesitation in putting the Company's case, and saying—"do you think it just and right that you should be admitted to this participation of what is called the dead stock of the Company, and of the various implements which we have erected for the purposes of commerce, without paying to us a fair and liberal consideration?"

For his own part, he thought, judging of the disposition they had seemed to manifest, that they would say—No. He therefore did think, when the matter came to be more liberally and more justly represented to the House, they would see that it would be most injurious and most unjust to deal thus by the East-India Company. He had too high an opinion of the liberality of Parliament to think they would seriously and deliberately impose such hard terms upon them. Why, then, let the Court pause for a moment;—and he desired it to be understood merely as a hint that had occurred to his mind—but still it was matter of extreme importance to a measure of this kind, and it would be proper that the Company should not lose any opportunity of discussing all the propositions which were likely to be submitted, whether approved of by Parliament or not, in order that

when the question came before the House they should be able to meet all possible or imaginable difficulties. Now, he would suppose, that after all the evidence which might be produced before the House—after all the arguments which might be urged on both sides of the question—Parliament should at length come to a decision that the proposition for opening the trade to India should be carried, might not the Company, in that event, he would ask, be fairly and reasonably remunerated in some such way as *this* :—to allow them a proper and reasonable impost upon all commerce carried on by British merchants in this country to and from India?—That impost to be applied in this way. At present, by the act of 1793, under which the guarantee fund was established, it was provided that a guarantee fund should be settled for the purpose of remunerating the Company whenever their charter should be determined. It would be recollected that he had had the honour to observe when the Court first met on this question—(and it founded the ground-work of one of his Resolutions) that notwithstanding at the last renewal of the Company's charter, the late Lord Melville had admitted very fairly and very reasonably, that inasmuch as Parliament thought proper to take a proportion of the Company's trade from them, the Company ought in that proportion to be remunerated, and had raised their dividend

accordingly. He (Mr. Jackson) had the present Lord Melville's opinions on that subject in his hand, and his Lordship, he observed, stated in his letter, that not only all due care should be taken by Parliament to preserve the Proprietors in their rights, but that due consideration should be had for their commercial advantages, and the means by which they had hitherto carried on their trade in the East. Now, at present, there was not a single hint of that kind stated by Lord Castlereagh in his propositions to the House of Commons. But he was sure, whether that was or was not one of the noble Lord's propositions, that when the question should come to be fully considered—when the numerous papers and mass of important information in possession of the Company came to be laid before Parliament—he was persuaded they should not have to complain of the injustice of those to whom their cause was referred.—They would agree, he trusted, in the justice of the proposition, that those from whom the commerce was to be taken away, ought to receive every remuneration in the power of the country to give. "If the opening of the trade"—said Mr. Jackson—"be so mighty a boon to the adventurers—if it be of such vast benefit to the commercial interests of this country—if it be an object of the ardent hopes and sanguine wishes of the whole nation at large, surely the

nation can afford something for it. *(Hear! hear!)* And to whom should they pay, but to those from whom they take ?"—Now though perhaps, in aparticular distribution, by way of increased dividend to the proprietors, the plan he would suggest might might not be approved, yet if the mode of remuneration was founded upon a general, though moderate impost, in the manner charged at present upon the private trade, it would be less objectionable and meet with less difficulty than if it were proposed immediately to raise the dividend on the Company's stock, as done at the last renewal of the Charter.

Supposing, therefore, this moderate duty or rate upon the Indian commerce of the country was to be imposed for a given time, to accumulate as a guarantee fund, to be paid in the name of the Commissioners of the Treasury, under such a commission as now exists in this country ; these duties to continue, till they amount with interest to a sum of twelve millions of money, to act as a sinking fund, and to be subject to the same regulatiohs, for the Company's use, for the payment of their debts, and so forth, as is provided with regard to the present guarantee fund, it would be, in his opinion, the most unobjectionable mode of remunerating the Company. This guarantee fund was a security which the late Lord Melville had suggested and admitted to be fair and equitable ; which the act

of 1793 admitted to be just; and, he trusted, Lord Castlereagh would concur in recommending that this guarantee fund should be efficient, as he had declared that he thought nothing could be more unadvisable than to hold out hopes which could not be realised.

He (Mr. Jackson) therefore took it for granted, that when that noble Lord proposed the guarantee fund, he did not mean that it should be a *theoretical* fund; for that would have been unjust and a complete delusion upon the Company. Therefore, if the Government were serious, and meant that it should be *real*, not *visionary*, he saw no reason why a principle thus sanctioned by the authority of an act of parliament, should not be made effectual as to its object. He would therefore just suggest, not an unreasonable, but a reasonable impost, upon all trade to and from India, deriving protection and advantage from the Company's establishments, till it amounted to the sum of twelve millions sterling, the sum proposed by Lord Castlereagh. This was merely an intimation or suggestion for the consideration of the Court: and if there were one proposition, on the face of it, more just, more safe, more worthy the importance of the subject, and more equal in its operation than another, he thought it was the present: and he was not without hopes that something of the kind might take place.

Now with regard to the justice of this plan, one short proposition would, he thought, establish it. He believed that what was called the Company's *dead stock* in India, including wharfs, quays, warehouses, and a variety of other conveniences for commerce, were estimated at about twelve millions. He would, however, say ten millions, the interest of which would be £500,000 per annum; where, then, he would ask (as had been forcibly urged by the Deputy Chairman in the House of Commons), was the hardship of making the merchants thus trading to and from the Company's territories, pay a moderate duty, or some due consideration, for the advantages which they would thus derive? The Americans paid a double duty for much more limited advantages than those proposed to be given to the merchants of the British empire. If the principle were agreed to, he meant to suggest that the duties should accumulate, perhaps with Indian interest, till they should amount to the sum limited for the guarantee fund. This, he thought, was the least the Company could expect under all circumstances. To the country it could be no loss, but, on the contrary, would accelerate the participation of the public in the profits of the Company, as the next appropriation, after the completion of the guarantee fund,

was five-sixths to Government; consequently, if that fund should be completed in seven or ten years, the sooner would the public derive this very considerable proportion of the Company's profits. It appeared to him (Mr. J.) to be as just and as rational a proposition as could be suggested, and, with all the deference that became him, he took the liberty of throwing it out for the consideration of the Court.

With many apologies for having detained the Court so long, he should briefly recapitulate the main arguments of the noble Lord, and the state of the question between the Company and his Lordship. The proposition contended for was, that the Company neither did or could carry on the Indian trade to the extent which it admitted of, and that the natives might, by an open trade, be induced to a much greater consumption of European commodities. His Lordship therefore proposed to Parliament, that the trade should be thrown entirely open, that is, that British subjects at large should be at liberty to trade from every port in the United Kingdom to every port within the limits of the Company's Charter, except Canton, thus allowing to them the vast and uncontrouled range of the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Seas; from whence they were to be at liberty to import into

every port of the United Kingdom, as soon as such port should be rendered sufficiently secure for the bonded system. Now the Directors had declared unanimously, and in the most solemn manner, that if such a supersession of their trade and authority should take place, the East India Company could not continue to exist, but that the whole system must determine. Then came this short question, what should the Company do to avert this great and mighty evil? The House of Commons had evidently indicated a wish, that evidence should be produced at their bar; and the noble Lord had agreed that the Company should have leave to shew cause, as it were, against such of his resolutions as they thought most deeply to affect them. They would therefore be permitted to prove the danger to be justly apprehended to the British empire in India, from the indiscriminate access to its shores of adventurers, as unlimited in number as description. —The utter improbability of any increased use or consumption of European articles among the natives—their ample supply at present—and the facility with which that supply could be increased, if necessary, through its present safe and well-guarded medium. The noble Lord had, of course, before he proposed so wide, so extensive, and so adventurous a plan, as the opening of

every port in India to every person in the United Kingdom who might choose to resort to it, made up his mind as to the consequences which he was risking to the empire, and to that very trade itself which he was so anxious to extend. This was the question at issue. The Company were prepared to shew calamity and disaster inevitable, and increased consumption, for which the risk was professed to be encountered, almost impossible. He could not (Mr. Jackson said) sum up his own ideas upon the subject, so well as by referring to the short but luminous argument of a right honourable gentleman, whose quickness of conception the House had so often witnessed. "You admit," said the right honourable member, "that the empire is perfect—that its magnitude and strength excites your wonder, and its administration by the Company's servants extorts your praise—that that which, five and twenty years back, was treated in this House but as a splendid dream, has now become, by progressive care, wisdom, and understanding of the subject, a glorious reality, and yourself have drawn such a picture of our Indian empire as, in a political point of view, leaves the country every thing to rejoice at, and nothing to wish for, consequently the question is reduced to the single consideration of an *extension of trade*;

Let us then hear evidence at the bar, as to the probability and measure of this extension, that the House may judge, if, for the sake of it, they will risk impairing or losing so great a political blessing as that which you have described. It is said that the Indian trade, at present, yields an average profit of £400,000. per annum; supposing it be increased to eight hundred thousand, was the House prepared to say that the difference bore any proportion to the apprehended risk? The degree of danger from indiscriminate access, and lowering the authority and influence of the Company, contrasted with the supposed degree of extension of trade, seemed to him to comprise the main part of the question, and upon that he wished to hear the evidence of those who had been long in India, and were the most capable of informing the House."—Such (Mr. Jackson said) seemed to be the course for the Company to pursue, in order to enable the Houses of Parliament to judge if the Petitioners had made out any case, which could justify the known peril of superseding the functions of the Company, and lowering its influence and reputation among the natives, by a coercive transfer of its commerce.

After a few observations, touching the probable course of proceeding which the House of

Commons would adopt, the honorable and learned Proprietor concluded, by apologising for having occupied so much of the time of the Court, but justified himself upon the improbability of their meeting again before the discussion should take place in Parliament, and the importance of which he conceived it to be, that the Court should be fully possessed of the nature of the situation in which the Proprietors then stood.—*(Hear! hear!)*

Mr. *Lowndes* and Mr. *Hume* rose almost at the same instant; but the Chairman gave precedence to

Mr. *Hume*, who said he was extremely sorry that he should have prevented the honourable Gentleman from addressing the Court; but he assured him that it was not his intention to detain the Court for any considerable length of time.

It certainly was not his wish either to answer or to follow his learned friend (Mr. Jackson) through his able, perspicuous, and long discourse, which, he was sure, every one present must have heard with considerable pleasure and satisfaction. *(Hear! hear!)*—There were, however, some few points of his speech to which he would wish shortly to address himself: but his chief view in rising now, was to consider what the object of

this meeting was,—namely, the resolutions now before them; and to talk of them generally and abstractedly. He was not desirous of discussing them particularly; but, in a general view, to consider how far the object and tendency of them would be advantageous to the Company, or advisable, if the Company should give their sanction to the Legislature to carry them into effect.

It was his satisfaction, on a former day, to signify his feeble but ample testimony to the merits of the government of the East-India Company. He was sorry, however, to think that any reference or allusion was made, of an invidious nature, to the labours of those who had the government of the East-India Company abroad and at home—labours which, he hoped, would be long continued with the same success and advantage to the affairs of the Company. He was happy that he now heard nothing more of those allusions; for every where, as far as he had heard, the country was ringing with the praises of the Company, and re-echoing with the applause due to its wise administration, and the immense progress made in its government abroad. It was satisfactory to him, and to every one, to compare what had taken place within the period of one short year, in the opinion of the public, respect-

ing India affairs, with the state of the public mind at no very distant period. This happy change must be attributed to the agency of many of those gentlemen who sat within the bar, to whose dignified and proper conduct he had no hesitation in saying, was owing that great amelioration in the public sentiment; and he could not but hope that such an alteration would be attended with the greatest possible advantage to the affairs of the Company, when this subject came to be fully stimated by the administration of the country. The greatest regard was certainly due to the manner in which they had conducted themselves upon this momentous occasion. He was extremely anxious,—as the noble Lord who brought forward the subject in the House of Commons, had met the views of the Company with so much candour and liberality,—that the Company should manifest every disposition on their parts, to conciliate the good opinion of the Government, not only in every word and expression which might be construed into a feeling of irritation injurious to the result of this great question, but that they should also, by their acts, shew a disposition to meet the Ministry upon the same terms of liberality by which *they* appeared to be actuated. He had the satisfaction

to hear from the lips of the noble Lord the declaration of a wish, not only on *his* part, but on the part of the *whole of His Majesty's Ministers*, to meet, fairly and liberally, contending opinions, and propose such terms as would satisfy the wishes of *all* parties.

He (Mr. Hume) would repeat again, what he had taken the liberty to state on another occasion, that it was not in the power of His Majesty's Ministers to act as they could wish; it was not for them to pronounce decisively upon this subject, or acquiesce implicitly with the demands of the Company, or refuse to consider the statements made by gentlemen connected with the Outports. It was therefore satisfactory to find, upon a review of every thing stated by the noble Lord, that he, in his high office as a minister of state, had signified, with so much liberality and so much gentlemanly candour, a wish to meet the desires of the Company—that he, as a British statesman, should have shewn so much willingness and encouraging assurance in the dispensation of one of the greatest questions ever brought before the Legislature, in every point of view, whether it was weighed upon commercial or political considerations. Happy, therefore, was he to find that tendency, and that wish, on the part of the noble Lord, to meet the views of all parties; and, con-

sidering that it must be attended with the greatest advantage to the public, he was anxious, as indeed he always had been, that the Company, on their part, should shew the utmost willingness to meet the Ministry, on the present occasion; because he was persuaded that a readiness to comply with the wishes of the Administration to accommodate all parties, must be attended with the most important consequences.—He strongly recommended, as the best way of adjusting the matter, that each party should give up something which they considered themselves entitled to. *That* was the way most likely to promote the interests of both, and conciliate the good-will of each other. Impressed, therefore, strongly with these ideas, he was anxious to take a short view of the Resolutions, as they had been now proposed to the House of Commons. In the first place, he begged to remind the Court that it was not to be considered that these resolutions were *final.* It was to be recollected that they were only *the recommendations* of His Majesty's Ministers. The Court were not to conclude that every one of them was to be carried into effect, unless they met the wishes and views of all the parties interested; and unless they would be likely to meet the approbation, as well of the India Company as of the Public; and improve the commerce of

the Country. They were not to be taken *now* as points which were to be subject to no revision nor amendment, if they were in any one instance objectionable. In the mean time, however, he invited the Court to consider, how far they were equal, to what the most sanguine expectations anticipated from them; how far they were consistent with the trade to India, as particularly confined to the India Company, or open generally to the merchants. He invited them to consider, whether the objects now proposed by His Majesty's Ministers to be recommended for the adoption of the Legislature, did not meet with the most sanguine views which every disinterested man could entertain. Leaving out of his consideration the clamour and outcry on one side, and the inordinate expectations which might, perhaps, be entertained by some members of the Court of Proprietors, he, for one, though he felt as anxious for the interests of the East-India Company as any man, did consider them extremely liberal; and he thought the Ministers were entitled to their warmest thanks for the readiness with which they came forward in resisting the demands of the Outports, as ruinous as they were absurd, and as improper as they were fallacious.

Upon that ground, he availed himself of

his right to call the attention of the Court to their proceedings, in respect of those Resolutions. It was well known, from the earliest establishment of the Company, that the Court of Directors had the most important duties to perform. They were not only important, but they were extensive and complicated, and as various as they were arduous. But, nevertheless, it was well known that their duties were performed with as great precision as if they were infinitely less numerous. It might, therefore, be very proper for this Court to reflect, how far it was possible to carry on the same independent government after the Outports were open, and with as much harmony and advantage as had been experienced during the last eighteen years. He was anxious, therefore, to point out a suggestion, which he hoped the Court would consider as coming from a mind anxiously disposed towards the welfare of the Company. It was a suggestion of his, with a view to point out, that the Court ought to meet His Majesty's Ministers upon the same friendly disposition, which those Ministers had manifested towards them.

He found, in the propositions which had been submittted to Parliament, that, by the 15th and 16th Resolutions, Ministers intended to continue to the East-India Company the

whole management of their extensive territories, with all its important privileges and advantages, in the civil and military government, which they had hitherto enjoyed. The Court of Directors, he believed, could not have expected such advantageous terms; but, on the contrary, that they would have been called upon to give some pecuniary consideration for the renewal of those advantages. This was not the case; it was proposed to continue the Company in the whole management of all the military, civil, and every other advantage connected with the government of their Indian possessions. It was also proposed to arm them, and put them in possession of every means of guarding against any danger that might possibly occur. He was sure he could not be mistaken in this proposition, because he had in his hand a few notes which he thought contained the sense of His Majesty's Ministers upon this subject. If he had not the precise words, he was certain he had the sense and sum of them. Lord Castlereagh said, "it was *his* intention, and that of His Majesty's Ministers also, to leave the East-India Company in full possession of all their authority, and every dependency thereunto belonging." In order to guard against those dangers which some gentlemen had so confidently insisted would fol-

low, should the trade be opened to the Outports, the Government had left nothing whatever to chance. They proposed to place the executive power of India in the hands of those officers to whom the command should be granted, under the sanction of the Company. It was intended to leave to them that power which could assure to this Court the absolute dominion of all their dependencies and territories in the East. Whatever might be the alarms and terrors of some gentlemen, the Court would still have the advantage of guarding against any interference that might be attempted in the affairs of their Indian settlements, unless the Government chose to explain to them their reasons at full length for making any alteration; but he knew it to be the serious intention of Ministers, that the complete government of India should be still left in the hands of the Company, with full authority to controul every class of persons who should have access to their territories, and to guard against any threatened danger to their dominion. With these general powers, then,—with the civil authority in their hands,—with the arms, and the whole of the military force under their command,—with all the full means of protection, where was the danger to be apprehended to the stability of their establishments? Ministers had

wisely thought, that the safety of the East-Indian possessions depended upon this arrangement; but, at the same time, the Company ought to be no less impressed with the importance of the advantages allowed them.—Was it nothing, he would ask, to have the whole command of the military at their disposal? Was it nothing to be still kept in possession of those institutions by which protection and personal liberty were secured to their subjects? Was it nothing, to be allowed to keep up 150,000 of the finest troops, perhaps, in the world, which was certainly the best means of backing the orders of their government?—For his own part, he thought these two points—namely, the military and civil power,—were of themselves sufficient to assure the Company against all apprehension of danger to their authority. They had that which constituted the safety of every country; and, therefore, in his opinion, the Company ought cautiously and seriously to reflect, whether, when so many advantages were given to them, they ought not to relinquish other minor points, which, even if granted, might be of little consequence.

But considering it necessary in a discussion of this nature, to guard against the vicious effects of popular delusion and erroneous conception upon

another point, he invited the Court to consider what the Government were disposed to do, upon the subject of the *China Trade,* and this, certainly, to the Company, was the most interesting and important, in a commercial point of view. Government were disposed to give the Company the most beneficial and the most valuable of all the Company's privileges. They were disposed to secure to them the China Trade, without the smallest interference or interposition, on the part of the Outports. So far was the commerce to China guaranteed.—And here, he must say, as he had said upon a former occasion, it was his confirmed opinion, that His Majesty's Ministers would do wrong in suffering any interference upon the part of the Outports in the trade of the Indian Archipelago.—*(Hear! hear! hear!)* He took the liberty of shewing, on the former occasion, the difficulties of carrying on that trade, in a two-fold view: In the first place, the extreme danger of the navigation of those seas, the shoals, tempestuous winds, intricate channels, and the dangers of imperfectly known difficulties; and, in the next place, the savage, barbarous, and intractable disposition of the inhabitants of those islands, which sometimes was productive of the most serious consequences to the persons who traded with them. It often happened, that whole

ships' companies were cut off and murdered by the inhabitants. To be sure he admitted, that in many of these cases, such acts of cruelty were consequences of aggressive acts on the part of their visitors. But from whatever cause those melancholy events proceeded, every person in India well knew, that with all the care that could be observed in keeping up a pacific communication with the inhabitants;—with all the pains actually taken in educating persons in India for the trade, he meant in learning the languages of those people, and acquiring a knowledge of their habits and manners:—still, in every point of view, it was a most difficult and perilous trade. Surely, then, he could not hazard too much, when he said, that the difficulties would be in a ten-fold degree greater, to persons going out from England unacquainted with the navigation of the seas, and utterly ignorant of the manners and language of the inhabitants of those islands.—If this liberty was given to such persons, he had not the least doubt we should hear of the fatal consequences he had pointed out. But although he had no reason to think that the noble Lord proposed to give that liberty, yet he was sure it was an act of justice to those who were about to embark their lives and their properties in so hazardous and, he must say, dangerous a navigation, in every part of

it, to put them on their guard against the delusion of their own fancy. He did hope they would seriously reflect before they entered upon an undertaking which must be productive of ruin to themselves and their families. Whoever knew any thing of the navigation of those seas;—whoever knew the coasts of Sumatra, Java, Batavia, and the other islands to which the Company had traded, knew it to be impossible that large ships could navigate in those seas, without imminent risk of destruction. Long experience had taught the persons carrying on that trade, that it was impossible for ships of three hundred and fifty tons burthen, which were generally rated at four hundred tons cargo, to be navigated in those seas. It was impossible then, even supposing the other difficulties to be without foundation, for ships from England to carry on the trade with the same advantage and security which enabled the Company's ships to be tolerably successful; and they would have no chance whatever in competition with the Company's vessels, which had been long acquainted, not only with the navigation of those seas, but with the language, manners, and mode of commerce of the inhabitants. These, however, were merely suggestions of his own, and the result of his own observation. But he did really hope, notwithstanding the ap-

prehensions and suspicions of those interested in the welfare of the Company, that His Majesty's Ministers would be inclined to limit it, as well for the interests of the public, as in point of justice to the Company.

He should be very anxious to do justice to the arguments of his honorable and learned friend, Mr. Jackson, upon the subject of the China trade, if he could view it in the same light as his learned friend did. He could not agree with that honorable gentleman, that the idea of protecting the China trade, if the Outports were open, was merely visionary. He was not able to call that *visionary* or *ideal*, which experience had shewn to be founded in fact: because no man, he believed, would deny, that the means hitherto provided by the Company and the Government to protect its China trade, had been ample and sufficient for that purpose. It was his opinion, that there was no danger whatever to be apprehended upon this score; and his reasons for entertaining that sentiment were, that whatever the opinions might be which were held forth by people who did not consider the nature of the Manifest Acts—the danger and risk of confiscation, which ships, attempting to violate those acts, must run; and, even admitting the facility of smuggling, stated by the honorable

gentleman, still it would be impossible to escape detection; and though it were probable, still it would not be worth the while of such persons to undertake it. He was persuaded, that no man in this country would be so speculative, as to bring home a ship of four hundred tons burthen, and loaded with property to a considerable amount, yet consent to run the risk of losing the whole of his property for the chance of smuggling one or two chests of tea. Every person knew the extreme rigour with which the Custom-house officers did their duty; and even if *one* or *two* chests escaped their search, it would be still very difficult to land them: and, upon the whole, the dangers and risks would be too great to make it worth the while of any person to endeavour to carry on a trade attended with so many hazards. But, besides the vigilance of the Custom-house officers, to whom no one would attribute any remissness in their duty, could it be supposed that the Company themselves would not adopt every means, in their power, to secure one of their most valuable privileges? Therefore, with that degree of risk in deviating from the law, and with the vigilance not only of the Custom-house officers, but of the Company themselves, he thought there was little or no danger whatever upon that subject.

If therefore the Company had the command of the whole country left to them,—if they had the whole military force in their hands—and if the China trade was secure to them, which, in a commercial point of view, was the most important privilege of the Company, he saw no danger whatever from conceding to the Outports what was proposed by His Majesty's Ministers; because, with all these means within their grasp, there was no doubt whatever of their protecting all their most valuable acquisitions. For his own part, he was very much at a loss to discover from whence the danger was to arise to the East-India establishments from opening the trade of their ports, with all these advantages in the Company's hands; especially when they had every thing they could wish for, with one exception, which was, in fact, the most inconsiderable of all the objects at stake. The argument of those gentlemen was, that by suffering the trade to be carried on from the Outports to India, such would be the disposition of the persons trading, that they would in time overturn the Company's establishments. Now, that was utterly impossible, when the nature of the boon intended to be granted to the Outports was considered. He could conceive some force in the argument, if, instead of having a trade going from England to India, it

was intended to give a trade to the Outports from India to England. But as that was not the case, no danger of that kind could be apprehended: he could not imagine any, from giving to eight, ten, or fifteen ports, the benefit of an importation trade from India. The only hazard that could arise would be from their becoming incorporated with the establishments of India; but even then, judging from the administration of affairs in India, no apprehensions of that kind could be entertained. But still, as to the effect of giving the Outports this permission, he doubted whether that effect could be extensive: for, in many points of view, it was merely a permission; and in many cases it could not be enjoyed, even by those to whom it was extended: for, in truth, it would not be attended with so many real advantages as the sanguine imaginations of some men ascribed to it; and he apprehended that many of those who seemed so anxious to be possessed of the privilege, would find afterwards that their golden prospects were imaginary. If, therefore, the Company were only called upon to concede and grant to them, a participation in the trade, which was admitted to be unimportant, not only by many of the East-India Proprietors, but even by some of the Honourable Directors themselves, who stated in their evidence that

they were not afraid of an open trade, and that they were contented to grant to the Outports a participation in those commercial advantages:—If, therefore, this was admitted, there could be no difficulty whatever in adjusting so important a point:—beside which, there was this fact admitted even by the Company, that they could *then* afford to trade at 15 per cent. lower than they had hitherto been able to do. If this was the fact, which he would not deny, as it was admitted on their own shewing, he was at a loss to conceive what difficulty there could be in conceding to the merchants of the Outports a small portion of the import trade. For his own part, he thought, so far should the Court be from shewing any disposition of unwillingness to treat with the Government upon this point, they ought to come forward and shew every possible disposition to meet his Majesty's Ministers, and say to them—"We have done all in our power to meet your views:—we have left no argument untried; we have stated every thing that occurs to us upon the subject of our own interests, and the danger of an innovation on our privileges; but if you think it is of advantage to the country that we should admit the Outports to a participation in our import trade—*we*, who are equally anxious for the welfare of our country—consent to give

up such portion of our privileges as *you* may think conducive to that advantage. If you are of opinion that it is safe and proper, under the reservations you have left us, to give to the British merchants a participation in the trade to India, *we*, as creditors, grateful for the advantages already bestowed upon us, give our consent to such a participation."

It was his opinion that the Court of Directors, as a trading body, ought to look to those sources from which they were likely to derive the most advantage, in a pecuniary point of view. It appeared by their own shewing, that the Indian trade had been carried on, not only at a very heavy expence, but under very severe losses: while, on the contrary, it was stated, that by pursuing their China trade, in that advantageous manner which it had been hitherto conducted, their finances would be in a much more flourishing state, and be every way more conducive to the general prosperity of the Company: and hence, by parting with that portion of their trade which, they found by experience, could not be carried on with advantage, they would, by the alteration, in a financial point of view, be gainers.

But the Company were not to look upon thmselves merely as TRADERS; they were to consider themselves as SOVEREIGNS: and

he begged to call upon the attention of the Court, and to remind them of the true point of view in which this great question ought to be considered. This was not a mere commercial consideration. The Directors were to look upon themselves in a more important light, namely, as SOVEREIGNS OF INDIA. They were to look to all those engagements and relations by which a great Empire would necessarily be affected: and therefore, when he saw no attempt on the part of His Majesty's Ministers to touch the political privileges of the Company; and, on the contrary, that there was a disposition, on their parts, to continue them, under proper regulations, it was their bounden duty to meet the wishes of Government. The nature of those regulations was known, and had been proposed. If they were not satisfactory, it was the duty of the Court of Directors to propose some measures more propitious to their own views. If they did this, such was the spirit of conciliation His Majesty's Ministers had evinced upon this subject, he was satisfied they would meet the Directors more than half way. If those Ministers appeared ready to give every facility to a liberal and satisfactory settlement of the Company's rights, ought the Company, he would ask, as SOVEREIGNS,

to object, on their parts, to dispense with a portion of their trade to India? Moreover, when they well knew that such trade was a losing concern, was there any reason, he would ask, for resisting on their parts, a participation of it? — Every consideration, he thought, should induce them to embrace the terms proposed, and to avoid resisting any disposition to conciliation on the part of the Government. As Sovereigns of a great Empire, and with a view to meet their vast and increasing expences, they ought, in a financial point of view, to shew the utmost readiness in accommodating themselves to the suggestions of the Minister. To prove that he was right in his proposition upon the subject of finance, he would only desire that the Directors should make out their accounts; and upon their own shewing, he contended, it would go against them. Upon this he built his proposition; because he was satisfied, that if the documents and accounts of the Company were laid before any merchant's clerk in London, who could keep a set of books, he would shew, in a commercial point of view, (allowing for those expences incurred in carrying on the commerce,) that the trade of India was not a gaining trade. Farther than this he could not go to sustain the proposition for which he contended. If it could be proved, that it was

not a gaining trade, surely the proposal now made by His Majesty's Ministers must tend not to diminish, but to add considerably to the revenue of the East India Company; and this, too, without that risque and liability to loss, to which the Company was at present exposed. As SOVEREIGNS of India, anxious for their own interests, and judging, as every Sovereign on earth would, and as he himself felt, if, as a part-proprietor of East India stock, he might call himself a Sovereign *(a laugh)*, they ought to adopt a step, so important to their own interests.

[Here the *Chairman* interposed, and asked, if he might be permitted to prefer a petition? —*(Hear! hear! hear!)*—He said, he was obliged to leave the Court upon particular business, not his own. His worthy colleague, however (Mr. Thornton), he was sure would take the Chair for him, and would discharge the duty much better than he did.—*(Hear! hear! hear!)*—The *Chairman* then retired, when the *Deputy Chairman* took the chair.]

Mr. *Hume* then resumed. To be short, he said, he merely wished to urge, that the Company, in its present situation, ought to judge of the actual danger of not conceding what was now proposed:—that they should consider them-

selves as SOVEREIGNS OF INDIA: that they ought to abstract themselves a little from that narrow commercial policy, which a private merchant might be disposed to adopt for his own individual advantage, and boldly give up every thing which was of importance to general welfare. What, he asked, were the narrow and selfish interests of a few individuals compared to the general welfare of the whole Country? He therefore besought the Court to consider themselves, as SOVEREIGNS, called upon to part with a portion of trade, not advantageous to themselves, in order to attend to the more important interests they had at stake; and "let the Court," said he, "satisfy itself of this fact, by looking to the calculations of the Company's trade during the last ten years, from the result of which they would find that the Indian trade had annually decreased." Whether this arose from the suspension of the intercourse between Great Britain and the other countries of Europe, or from the extraordinary commercial policy adopted by our neighbours, he would not enquire; but the fact was so. They ought, therefore, with pleasure, to come forward, and say to the Minister, "If such measures will tend to increase the trade and prosperity of the Country, we are extremely happy to meet them,

trusting that Government will not dispossess us of any thing which is essentially necessary to our security and welfare.

It was proposed, that His Majesty's Ministers should have power, with the consent of the Directors, to make such regulations by Orders in Council, as might be necessary to the conduct of the trade, and as circumstances might require. In that point of view, the facilities proposed by Government would necessarily advance the interests of the trade, without ttouble or inconvenience to the Company. He now begged to call the attention of the honourable Directors to what it was the Company proposed to do. It was proposed to call evidence to the bar of the House, to prove that the trade could not be materially increased. Now, if it should be proved that it would not be materially increased, could that, he would ask, effect any thing for the Company? If the trade should continue as it now was, had not the Public, by their claims, a right to participation in that trade, when the charter ceased, which it would do next year? And if the trade was to continue longer, why should the Public be deprived of the chance of benefiting by that, which was, in the hands of the Company, a losing concern? The chance, surely, if given to them, would in no way injure the Company; for

it appeared that they had lost by it while in their possession. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) though he argued upon the probable danger to the India establishments, from admitting the Outports to a participation in the trade, had not thought proper to illustrate his argument by any fact which could prove the reality of the danger. He contented himself with asserting, that such danger *would* arise, and *this*, too, *all at once*, upon the admission of the Outports to a share of the Company's privileges. The fallacy of that argument would be shewn by considering what really was the privilege proposed. The danger supposed to arise from this concession would be from the inhabitants of the Outports settling in India, and overturning the Government. But was it really to be supposed, that the towns of Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, were to export their inhabitants to India? Were they to send out their population to settle in the Company's possesions? Surely this was too preposterous even to imagine. All that was proposed to be given to the Outports was, the privilege of sending out cargoes from those ports, and bringing home cargoes of Indian produce in return. All parties admitted, that the only danger which could arise, was from those who went out to India. Were the Court then to apprehend danger from the ships' crews that

would be sent out from Glasgow or Liverpool? Surely not. And he should deny, upon every consideration, that danger would ever be found to exist. But the honourable Proprietor meant to prove, that this danger *would* exist. Of this, however, he (Mr. Hume) was certain, that the honourable gentleman could not prove that danger *ever did* exist; for he himself, and every other person acquainted with India, knew the contrary. No one ever heard of any danger existing from the intercourse of other nations with the ports of India. No one ever heard of, or even apprehended any danger, when twenty-seven or thirty ships were in the port of Calcutta. It was known that the greater proportion of the trade to India was carried on by Europeans, and yet no danger was ever apprehended to the East-India establishments. Therefore, upon this *prima facie* view of the case, he would venture to say, that no danger whatever would take place.

Returning again to the subject of the East India Islands, the trade to which was another portion of the East India commerce, he would remind the Court of the attempts made by the Americans to secure a portion of that commerce.

This he desired to do, in order to shew how chimerical the notions of the British merchants

were upon this subject. The Americans had sent several of their vessels and attempted to trade with those islands: — but after various attempts to succeed in their wishes, they were obliged to give up the project in despair; and now they were content to take what they wanted from the *Malay* traders, who brought all the articles of commerce in that trade to a particular station. This was what the Americans were content and obliged to do, and this was what the British merchants must do; for it was preposterous to suppose, that merchants, embarking their capital in such a trade, could hope to succeed without learning the language of the natives, and acquiring some knowledge of their manners. Even if they surmounted the difficulties of a dangerous and tempestuous sea, still they would have more discouraging circumstances to combat; namely, a barbarous and untractable people. He was aware that a spirit of enterprise was necessary to the attainment of great objects, and it was a spirit which ought always to be encouraged; but, at the same time, Speculation was a rock surrounded by so many dangers, that the unwary traveller should be cautioned against the tremendous consequences that would follow a false step. The danger of unwise speculation, he therefore hoped, the British merchant

would be guarded against, and follow the advice, and take warning by the example of those who had gone before them. For even, after the most cautious and careful conduct, such was the disposition of the natives, that unless they should be so changed, for the better, from what they had hitherto been, it would be impossible to keep up any intercourse with them. — Looking, therefore, at the subject in that point of view, the Company should say to the British merchants, "Do nothing that you cannot satisfy "yourselves will be of advantage to you. We, "who know the danger, point out to you the "difficulties which you will have to encounter; "but if you have any doubt upon our statement, "examine evidence."

On the other hand, however, he (Mr. Hume) thought there was no occasion to examine evidence, for the purpose of shewing that any danger had taken place by allowing ships to enter the ports of India. They might examine evidence for fifty days and prove no more than what they already knew; namely, that no danger whatever had existed. A single witness could not be brought to shew that it ever did exist, or was ever even apprehended. What was the danger that could be apprehended, if proper regulations were adopted by the Company, with

all the means, and all the strength in their hands, to carry those regulations into execution? In fact, the result of experience gave proof positive against all the evidence that could be adduced to sustain the notion of danger. He therefore put it to the serious consideration of the Court, whether they ought not, as a body of men deeply interested in the welfare of India, to make every advance in their power, in order to cherish that spirit of conciliation manifested by the Minister.

He maintained that no danger could exist, because hitherto, when the Company's means of defence and protection were not so great as they are now, no danger had taken place. Therefore, it did not appear to him, that all the evidence, which could be brought forward, would be futile: and he pledged his own conviction, that if the whole *was* proved, that *could* be proved, no danger whatever would be made out. He was extremely anxious, therefore, that this Court should be impressed with the same idea: an idea which he entertained from the very first; and if he appeared desirous of endeavouring to convince the Court, and bring it to the same way of thinking, it was because he was sincerely anxious for the welfare of the Company; and the only object he now had in view was, earnestly to recommend this Court to meet His Majesty's Ministers, who had so liberally

declared their disposition to meet the two contending parties.—In all points, in which this branch of the question could be considered, every man acquainted with the affairs of the Company, must be convinced of the policy, as well as the expediency, of embracing the proposition of Ministers. It had been proved, to the satisfaction of the Court, that there was no prospect nor probability of increasing that branch of trade, under the present system. They had had the evidence of the most enlightened men upon the subject: some of whom gave it as their decided opinion, that in a commercial point of view the opening of the trade would be of advantage to the Company—that the private merchant could carry it on with greater advantage; so that, in a commercial light, the Company would be gainers by the change. It was natural that a private merchant, carrying on trade by himself, unshackled by any other object than the immediate one in view, namely, his commercial adventure, would be more likely to benefit by the trade, than a numerous Company engaged in vast and multifarious concerns, not only of a commercial, but of a political nature, and whose attention must naturally be divided, between political security on the one hand, and commercial advantage on the other. But, leaving these general

principles out of the question, was it not a matter of serious importance to the Company to reflect, that, for the last eighteen years, during which time the Company's public and private trade amounted to about seventeen millions, they had sustained a loss upon their capital of 10 *per cent.* annually? Therefore, this subject became a matter of very serious consideration, as a question of general policy: and, in that point of view, he did hope the Court would see the wisdom of that proposition of the noble Lord, calculated as it was to increase the commerce of India, without diminishing any advantage the Company had hitherto derived from their exclusive privileges, and in no way tending to injure the essential interests of the Company.

With that view he should, before he sat down, take the liberty of moving one or two resolutions, declaratory of the wish of the Court to subscribe to this proposition of the noble Lord, and to pledge itself as willing to meet His Majesty's Ministers in the most liberal and unrestrained manner. These were resolutions which, he hoped, every person would support, because, by the resolutions of the noble Lord, the Court was bound to nothing. The very submission of them to the consideration of the House, implied that they were resolutions open to amendment, and the

most ample discussion. Indeed, he would go the length of saying, that after all they might not be, perhaps, the resolutions which they would have ultimately to consider. A change of administration might put an end to the propositions in their present form. It was impossible to say how soon that change might take place: but it was a thing which was not unlikely. The Court were not, therefore, bound by them:—they were only to be considered as the mere opinions of the present Ministry; but who, he must do them the justice to say, had on this occasion acted with the greatest liberality, and whom the Court ought to meet with the same liberal opinions on their part. It was for their own advantage that they should come forward, and embrace the measure proposed: and if what was proposed did not satisfy the public, it was for the interest of the Company that they should themselves do every thing in their power to strengthen the hands of Ministers, and enable them to carry into effect their liberal propositions. There was only one question upon the whole proposition, as it now stood; and that was, whether the Company would admit the people of England to a share with them in their trade, unshackled and unmolested? and whether they would chuse to add to the prosperity of their own country, by increas-

ing the prosperity of India? He was persuaded it was the wish of the Court of Directors to benefit, in every way, the trade of India, and add stability and strength to its government. He trusted, therefore, that they would consider this proposition in that view. For his own part, as a person connected with the country, he laid claim to credit for not wishing to approve any arrangements, which could have a tendency to retrench the commerce of that country. Such being the case, he hoped it would not be considered that he was urging too much, in recommending the Court to adopt the resolution he suggested: or that he was desirous of misleading them. But, previously to his submitting those resolutions, he would take the liberty of noticing one or two objections which the honorable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) had made. The learned gentleman had first very properly noticed, that it would be adviseable for the Court to adopt the middle course; now, whether there had been any invitation on the part of the Court, in the course of their numerous discussions upon this subject, he would not take upon himself to enquire. — This, however, was certain, that the noble Lord, upon this subject, had said nothing which could excite the least irritation: and therefore it was the

more imperative—indeed it was the duty of the Court—to do every thing in its power to conciliate the good opinion of the Minister; and to come forward in the most temperate and considerate manner to discuss the subject. It was true, in some of their discussions there was a little warmth; but he was persuaded that it proceeded from the momentary effusions of the mind, upon a question certainly of the greatest importance. His anxiety, however, to deprecate every thing like irritation, was excusable, when he knew the disagreeable consequences to which it might give rise.

He had already stated his opinion at length, upon the subject of the China trade, which the honorable gentleman had, also, very extensively discussed; and he was free to admit, that some of the dangers which he (Mr. Jackson), had pointed out, in other views of the subject, might exist; but, in general, he thought the dangers were of so trifling a nature, that they were amply counterbalanced by the advantages likely to result to the Company.—Of this, however, he was satisfied, that if His Majesty's Ministers thought proper to recommend the opening of a portion of the trade to India, the China trade would, in all events, remain as complete as it was now. He must say, in answer to what

the honorable gentleman had observed, upon the subject of the petition of a very numerous and important body of people, namely the ship-builders, it was reasonable to suppose, that the more ships there were built, the more commerce would be likely to ensue: though he confessed he did think it would be attended with more danger, in a political point of view. It was *possible* that some of the dangers might take place, from the increase of the shipping interest, which had taken place in America.

The honorable gentleman, he thought, had taken rather an unfair advantage of the statement he (Mr. Hume) had made in the course of a former debate, upon the subject of the trade to China. It would be recollected, he trusted, that in bringing forward that statement of the trade to China, he had shewn, on an average of fifty years, it had increased from £629,000 to £1,300,000. Though he had said that the Company ought not to hesitate in confessing that the trade to India was disadvantageous, yet it should be recollected that he brought forward this statement to shew, that since the period of the year 1793, the trade of China had increased in a great degree, notwithstanding all the difficulties thrown in its way. The Court would do him the justice, he was sure, to remember that he had

mentioned, in the most distinct manner, what had been done to injure the trade, and that he had added the opinions of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundass, who had stated that, in their judgment, every thing had been done to injure the trade to China: yet if it appeared, on an average of fifty years, that the trade had increased from £629,000 to £1,300,000 it was an unequivocal proof that the trade had answered. There was no doubt but every means had been adopted to injure that trade: yet, notwithstanding all the difficulties and obstacles opposed to its success, they had been entirely surmounted. He relied upon actual facts and the experience of the Company, from whose documents it would appear beyond all doubt, that it had increased from £629,000. to £1,300,000; at this moment it was so; and on that principle, judging from the present, the trade to China was increasing. He would admit, it might be a strong plea on the part of the Outports, if the trade was really decreasing, that they ought to have the opportunity of improving a trade, which was either neglected for want of energy, or dwindling for want of capital: the contrary, however, was the fact. It was not a fair way of judging on the subject to calculate from *one* or *two* unsuccessful years. But, at the same time that the Company derived

considerable advantages from this branch of their trade, he did not think it would become them to enter into a sort of conspiracy, and conceal from His Majesty's Ministers the real state of the facts upon this subject. And he put it to his honorable friend, whether that was not the point of view in which he stated his sentiments on the former occasion? He was not one of those, he confessed, who would abandon *small* but *certain* gains, for the chance of making more by a *speculation* confessedly *hazardous*. It was in this point of view that he considered this subject, and he thought it was perfectly consistent with the interests of the Company, to abandon a losing concern, for the sake of promoting their views, in the pursuit of a trade every way more advantageous. They ought to give up that proportion which was almost a burthen, to secure that which was profitable, in every point of view.

Something had been said by the honorable gentleman about the statements of Lord Castlereagh, on the subject of the Company's capital. He (Mr. Hume) had the pleasure of hearing Lord Castlereagh on that subject: and although he did not explain himself so clearly as many might have done, yet the meaning he collected from his Lordship's observations, was very different from that represented by his honorable

friend to the Court. Lord Castlereagh stated very distinctly, that "the impediments to trading on the part of the present merchants, to and from India, under the regulations of the Charter of 1793, had forced the capital of British merchants into foreign trade, either in consequence of increased difficulties thrown in the way of the Court of Directors, or in consequence of the Court of Director's means having declined." This was the point Lord Castlereagh, as far as he understood him, had suggested: and was there any body who recollected the observations of Mr. Dundas on this identical point, touching the subject of East-India ships, that did not agree in the truth of the observation? Examples were not wanting to illustrate that principle. One was sufficient for the purpose; and he would only refer the Court to the example of the *Princess Amelia*, a Company's ship, in 1797. Lord Castlereagh he contended was right, when he stated that a large capital had been employed to no beneficial purpose, through the very trammels of those regulations prescribed in the Charter.—He (Mr. Hume) was ready however to admit, that the Court of Directors had acted liberally; but still, with all that liberality, (for which he was disposed to give them credit) it was not sufficient to prove the capability of the Company,

His honorable friend (Mr. Jackson) had not noticed the effect likely to be produced upon India, by allowing people to come in and receive permission to enter into the trade of the Company. The honorable gentleman did not recollect what the advances of the Company had been: he did not seem to recollect that the whole advance of the Company had not been much more than one third. Did he mean therefore to say, that there would be any injury likely to arise to the trade of India, or the advantages of it to the Company, from this measure? Did he suppose that the Company's interests would be affected by the loss of one eighth of the present merchandize? In this last proposition, he derived his authority from the Court of Directors themselves. Surely every man must know, that the merchants of Britain were as well acquainted with the interests of Government as the East-India Company themselves. The merchants of Britain, therefore, ought not to be looked upon as men, differing in their sentiments and principles from the rest of His Majesty's subjects: they were not to be considered as a different people from those who were at present employed in the trade to India. Their notions of loyalty, of good conduct, and good government, were (without at all detracting from the merits of the

Company) as much alive to the interests of their Country; therefore, in admitting the merchants of the Outports to a share of the trade in India, the Company ought to consider them as a valuable accession to the number of their subjects—as a body of men willing to be united with them in influence, in interest, and mutual sentiment, for the welfare of the Empire; and so far from apprehending any mischief through such a coalition, he thought, that as long as the Court of Directors retained the power and sovereignty in India; as long as they administered justice with integrity and impartiality; as long as the mild spirit of government which had marked the affairs of India for so many years, should continue to actuate the conduct of the Directory, so long would they be an accession to the prosperity and welfare of India.

It was very well known, that the present merchants had done very much towards the prosperity of India. He would not enquire more into the particular channels and modes by which they contributed their assistance, but certainly the present merchants had done, more to the prosperity of India, than those, who had not an opportunity of knowing the fact, could possibly conceive. Their capital had kept the trade alive in India; so much so, that the trade was almost,

in fact, merely *pro forma*, carried on by the Court of Directors, and hence, instead of increasing, the trade had decreased. This he had shewn on a former occasion, by a reference to the average of the trade during the last eight years, from which it had appeared (without now going back to the items) that the Company had lost eight millions of money. The inference to be drawn from this was, that the loss had proceeded from a decrease of the enterprising spirit of the Company, and from a want of proper application and supply of the capital. Ought they not therefore, as Directors and as Sovereigns of a vast Empire, to say to the British merchants, " Let us join heart and hand together in this great undertaking;—let us contribute all in our power to the prosperity and welfare of India?"

This, he (Mr. Hume) was firmly convinced, would be the result of such a policy; and in every point of view, in which the affairs of India could be considered, he anticipated prosperity to the commerce, and strength, and stability of the British Empire.

He should not detain the Court at any length with regard to the amount of the importation from India. The amount imported was of very little consequence. It certainly would be more if the state of Europe would permit it; but, at the

the same time, it should be recollected, that of all the manufactured goods imported from India, only *one fifth* of the whole was imported for British consumption: all the rest of the four-fifths went out of the country. As for *foreign* exports, therefore, it was of very little consequence, whether they came to the port of London or to the Outports. He, for one, thought it quite as just, that the Outports should derive the advantage of the foreign export trade, as the import trade for home consumption; because the reason of the thing was just the same; and he considered it was an exception which ought by no means to exist.

With regard to *protection*, a good deal had been said by the honourable gentleman; but he (Mr. Hume) must say, that the noble Lord had stated, that he thought it would be neither advisable nor safe for the Legislature to attempt any alteration in the present system in India. On the contrary, he said, it was his opinion, that the Government of India was as perfect as could exist; and that to take it out of the hands of the Court of Directors, would be to unhinge the whole fabric. Upon this subject, thererore, he (Mr. Hume) would not make any comments, but merely subscribe to that opinion.

With regard to the duties, the honourable gen-

tleman had said a great deal; but it amounted to so little, that he should not trouble the Court with any observations upon it. The whole duties were stated by the noble Lord to amount to £4,200,000. The whole computation which was derivable from tea having been stated to be *three millions and a half*, then this amount of the duties on tea being contra-distinguished from other duties, perhaps, would explain the apparent inaccuracy of the noble Lord's statement. But so far as he (Mr. Hume) could judge, his Lordship was pretty correct.

Notwithstanding the observations made on the policy of India; notwithstanding an honourable Director had himself asserted, that the Government was not quite complete, he himself was happy to say, that, in his own opinion, as far as facts went, they bore against the honourable Director. He was, however, bound to state, that it would give him (Mr. Hume) the sincerest pleasure to see any improvement for the better.

But although experience had shewn that the power and means put into the hands of this great body of merchants had been used with moderation upon all occasions, and with the greatest propriety and advantage to the country, yet he did not think that should be urged as a reason why economy ought not to be adopted; nor ought it

to be urged as a reason why ecclesiastical power should to be adopted in India. On the contrary, it was, in his opinion, a reason why it ought not to be introduced. He was as anxious as any man could be to see the religious establishments of India, as such, properly supported, and that there should be no want of religious instructors; but, as far as he knew any thing of India, he was not aware of any want of that kind. Every man who looked to the state of India, or who was at all acquainted with its domestic policy, would find that there was no occasion for any increase of the religious establishments. On the contrary, the number of religious instructors was very great, and had been much augmented of late. The Company had many chaplains in their train; and he was convinced it would be found, that the number of clergymen was quite enough; in his opinion it would be perfectly useless to send out any increase to the ecclesiastical establishments of the Company. But it occurred to him as rather extraordinary, that the recommendation of his Lordship (Castlereagh) upon this subject should follow immediately after a recommendation of "retrenchment." For it would be observed, that the very words from his Lordship's lips were "*the necessity of retrenchment in the Company's establishments.*" Now, how was that followed

up? The very next proposition of his Lordship was, "That the Company's system of expense was to be increased, and that they were to have a Bishop (whether with an income of ten thousand pounds a year, he did not know), and three Archdeacons! Surely, then, when the Court considered the enormous expence of keeping up the Government of the territories in India, and when it was considered that the expence was as much as the Company could bear, it could not be contended, in an economical point of view, that *this* was a season for adding so considerably to the expence, even if the *policy* of introducing such high dignitaries were unquestioned. And it might be necessary to consider also the expediency of introducing, in a political point of view, such personages into the Indian settlements. He was not perfectly satisfied, that an ecclesiastical power of that kind, if admitted to India, would be very advantageous to its good government; nor if it were attempted, was he perfectly satisfied it would contribute to the tranquillity of the Empire.—Though he was most perfectly convinced that such an augmentation of their establishment would be attended with an intolerable expence; this, however, was not his *chief* objection to their admission; for he had a sincere wish that a liberal provision should be made for the

teachers of the Gospel. But the main point of view in which he objected to it was, that it would be attended with the highest possible danger to the tranquillity of India; for he apprehended if a Bishop were admitted to have any authority in India, the Company would have a second Lord Chief Justice to take the lead in their affairs, and guide their councils.—It would be impossible to keep those ecclesiastical dignitaries from interfering with the politics of India; and consequently affecting the councils of the government. If the Clergy now in India were disposed to do their duty, there were quite enough of them for all spiritual and religious purposes. He, therefore, would by no means recommend a measure of this kind; and he perfectly agreed in an observation, urged against it in the House of Commons, that if there were any one measure more dangerous and threatening to the government of India than another, it was that of allowing a hierarchy without controul. For his own part, he dreaded also the suspension of that liberal and mild spirit of toleration which characterized the present government towards every sect of religion; and therefore, in that point of view, he should shudder at the idea of introducing a religious establishment which might, in any degree, tend to introduce a schism into that country, in

matters of conscience. The Court of Directors, in his opinion, were bound to sanction nothing which might, in the slightest degree, tend to disturb the harmony of the government or risk the quiet of their empire. As a question, therefore, of religion, of politics, and of economy, it was every way objectionable. His honourable friend (Mr. Jackson) had argued with considerable force, to shew that the government of India was a government of opinion. He, however, could not consent to the proposition, that our territories in India were governed by opinion *alone.* He thought that 150,000 men added considerably to the strength of that opinion, and gave some weight to the orders of the government. The fact was, the Company had a very large physical force in India, and it was not *mere opinion* that governed their immense territories. But, judging of the great force of the Hindoos in India, he thought it highly necessary to consider seriously the policy of attempting to convert the natives to Christianity: and this was another point of view in which he objected to any unnecessary increase of the religious establishments in India. His reason was this;—it was contrary to the Hindoo laws to admit a convert from their religion into society. Such person was excluded from either intercourse or

commerce with his friends and countrymen. He lost his *cast*, and was, in fact, considered as a vagabond and an outlaw; he was deprived of all those comforts which constituted the happiness of social life: he was even thrown off from the society of his father, his mother, and of his friends. Surely, then, if the chief object of religious instruction was the social happiness of mankind, it would be well to consider the policy of attempting to convert a people, who visited apostates from their own religion with such serious and heavy penalties. Could it be supposed (however desirable it might be, to see Christianity spread amongst the millions of unenlightened inhabitants of the eastern world), that such policy would either tend to the happiness of the people, or the security of the British empire, in India? Did facts prove, that the condition of the people hitherto converted had been bettered—or that their attachment to the Company's government had been made more secure? For his own part, he declared, for one, he never knew a convert in India who was a friend to the State: and, on the other hand, he never knew a convert, who was received by those who had converted him, with the warmth and cordiality of a brother. He therefore hoped the Court would seriously consider the very important question now suggested.

It was a question that involved not only the happiness of the people themselves, but the security of the government in India. He besought them to recollect the melancholy consequences that befel those unfortunate persons who left their *cast:* and he desired them to recollect, above all things, the necessity of keeping up that good opinion and confidence which subsisted between the natives and the government.—*(Hear! hear! hear!)*

There was another topic in the honourable gentleman's speech to which he must take the liberty of adverting: he meant that which respected *remuneration.* Now, really, he did conceive, that after the most liberal offer had been made by Government, to give the Company their China trade (worth £1,200,000), that they would have been contented, without the permission of levying duties, to remunerate them for those alleged advantages which were to be given up; and he begged to call the attention of the Court of Directors to one point of the measure proposed. It was a circumstance impossible for any Englishman to believe, that he should be obliged to pay more duty at Hull than at Liverpool, or at Glasgow than at Bristol. No man would know the duties if they were continually changing, which they would inevitably

do, under the arrangement proposed by the honourable gentleman; and it would be impossible to carry on the trade, with satisfaction or advantage, without knowing what the duties were, that were to be charged in each port respectively. Therefore, if such a proposition were to be seriously made, it ought not to be adopted without the perfect sanction of all parties: and he himself would be happy to see any necessary and reasonable rate established; but it ought to be a general, clear, and known rule of conduct to all parties.—The honourable gentleman asked, — "Was the Company to part with their "wharfs, their forts, and their establishments "in the ports of India, without remunera- "tion?"—Good God!—Was not the China trade —worth £1,200,000 a-year—an ample remuneration for what the Company gave up? Surely it was; because, by the tenor of the Company's charter they would have been obliged to give up the whole trade to India, to all His Majesty's subjects in common. As soon as their charter expired they would have no more right to the trade of India than the rest of His Majesty's subjects. He thought all that the merchants of the Outports ought to pay, therefore, would be a rate for the maintenance of the harbours and quays of the ports. This was fair, reason-

able, and natural. His answer, therefore, to the honourable gentleman's opinion upon this subject was, that the remuneration should go no farther than that proposed by the Government. Would it be just, or would it be reasonable, to tell the merchants of Liverpool and other Outports:—" In " return for the expences *we* have been at, in " adapting our settlements for the purposes of " trade, *you* must reimburse us?" Why, the very nature of all those conveniencies was to enable the Company to carry on their trade. He would read the very words of the act:—" To enable " the Honourable the East-India Company to " carry on their trade in execution of their " charter, these things are granted to them, that " they might be applied for their own con- " venience: but, at the termination of their ex- " clusive privileges, these things shall be in " common, as *forts for protection*, &c."—The honourable gentleman asked,—" What was the " Company to have by way of remuneration for " their forts?"—What, he (Mr. Hume) asked, had the private traders to do with the forts? The forts were to protect the country—to protect the territories of the Company.—Therefore, to call upon the traders to pay for these forts, would be most unjust and unreasonable. What! was the Company to be paid a revenue for the pro-

tection of its own ports and territories? and were they to call upon the merchants for this revenue? Besides which, he considered, at the present day, those forts, erected by the Company, were not necessary for the security of the merchants. They might, indeed, be necessary as safeguards for the Company's territories against hostile invaders, and might be the means of protecting their territorial possessions. He therefore hoped, in *that* sense, it would be thought, by the Court, that the Liverpool merchants, and the merchants of the other Outports, had no right to pay any demand of this sort; for, in every point of view, he considered it would be very unreasonable.

It appeared to him, that his honourable friend had misconceived the noble Lord (Castlereagh), when he stated that there was a kind of influence which the Court of Proprietors had over the Court of Directors. He (Mr. Hume) desired it to be recollected, that the noble Lord did not state this influence as extended to the territories in India, or that any danger was to be apprehended from its effects in *that* quarter; but what the noble Lord said was to this effect—and however unpleasant it might be for some gentlemen to hear, he would repeat it—the noble Lord had stated, that such an influence af-

fected the conduct of the Court of Directors themselves—that, in many of their proceedings, the Court of Directors were over-awed by the East-India Proprietors—that they, the Proprietors, were anxious to keep up the present system in some shape or another—and that he was afraid the trade of the India Company was good for nothing. This, he stated, was the *effect* of what the noble Lord had said; and he begged the honourable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) would recollect, that it was with a view to the trading influence, and not in allusion to the Company's territories, that the noble Lord's observation was made. It was only meant by the noble Lord, that this alleged influence led to a want of management in the Company's commerce, and that the natural consequence of that was its injury and declension. It was not, however, to be therefore supposed, it was at all meant by the noble Lord, that the Proprietors were to be precluded from deriving all the advantage they could from continuing the trade to India. On the contrary, he (Mr. Hume) had no doubt that they would continue the carrying trade; but, at the same time, the system required some alteration. And he had no doubt that a great many improvements would take place; for he could not but admit, that there were a great

many wanting. Therefore, the noble Lord, in making the observation alluded to, merely meant to allude to that sort of influence he had described. But the noble Lord was not the only one who took an opportunity of submitting *that* as one of the reasons why he thought the present system ought not to continue against the conviction of some of the Proprietors. He remembered that an honourable Director, not now present, who saw the danger, and who stirred heaven and earth to change the shipping interest, declared that he regretted the interference of that interest, though, at the same time, he admitted his disposition to give it all the advantage he could; yet still his sentiments were strongly against it, on account of its dangerous tendency. Surely, therefore, it was no harm for the noble Lord to take a leaf out of that honourable Director's book.

Without detaining the Court any longer, and after apologizing for the great length of time he had trespassed on their attention, he begged to remind them, that the sole object of his rising was strongly to recommend a feeling of conciliation on the part of the Company, and to beg that, after the most liberal, and, he must say, unexampled advances of His Majesty's Ministers, they would come forward themselves with a similar

feeling of liberality, and appear ready to evince a sincere spirit of conciliation. They ought to join hand in hand with Ministers to meet the contending force; for they should to bear in mind that they had to oppose the whole public, as it was natural to suppose that the nation at large was against them. As a Company, they ought to stand forth and conciliate the good opinion of Ministers—they ought to come forward and meet them half-way—indeed, he might say, two-thirds of the way. It was their duty to make the first advances, and it was for the Ministers to meet them.

Upon this very trying occasion, he certainly would do the Court of Directors the justice to say, that they had done *their* duty. He believed they had conscientiously and with unfeigned sincerity, pointed out those rocks upon which the merchants of the Outports were most likely to split, and erected those beacons to warn them of the danger, when an inconsiderate view of their own interests might lead them to risk dangers which might lead to their own destruction. He deprecated, above all the rest, every thing like hostility on the part of the Company. To go hostily into the field might be detrimental to their own interests, and perhaps be the occasion of imposing harder terms than those which a more

pacific aspect might induce Government to grant. The less they came to blows, the better for themselves, because he was persuaded they would effect infinitely more by mildness and good humour. They had nothing to do but to consider a public point in a private light. For his own part he would recommend, that their Chairman should ask leave to visit His Majesty's Ministers, and to state that the Court were extremely anxious to meet their views, and accommodate themselves to their wishes. A yielding disposition must be obviously more beneficial to their interests, than even the power (if power they had) to command :—command indeed could elicit nothing. They might detain the House of Commons for a week, examining evidence and debating the question, without half the advantage that an hour's private interview with His Majesty's Ministers might effect. In such a meeting many points might be granted, which could not be hoped for in a more open manner; and by meeting the Ministers half way, they would put it out of their power to refuse any thing that was consistent with the mutual interests of the Public and the Company.

[After some further observations to the same effect, in which the honorable gentleman recommended the renewal of the negotiation on the

part of the Company with the Ministers, in that spirit of conciliation he had suggested, he concluded by moving a resolution to that effect.]

The *Deputy Chairman* (Mr. Thornton) begged leave to put the honorable gentleman in mind, that there was already a question before them, which, though not absolutely moved, remained to be put, for the sense of the Court. It was a motion of the honorable Chairman, who had been called away by public business. The honourable Chairman had signified an intention, before he left the Court, to submit his proposition, but was diverted from his intention in its regular course, in consequence of an honorable and learned proprietor (Mr. Jackson) having immediately followed him, with his address to the Court. However, if the honorable Proprietor who spoke last, wished to propose his motion as an amendment, it was certainly in his power to do so: but it would be for his discretion to consider whether, under the circumstance of the case, he would adopt such a measure. He (the Deputy Chairman) indeed conceived, that the honorable gentleman, whom he represented, was in possession of the Court, and he should, therefore, take the liberty of reading the motion which he had left on the table, and which it was his intention to have proposed.

Mr. *Hume* thanked the Deputy Chairman for his suggestion, and requested that the motion before the Court might be read.

The *Deputy Chairman* said the motion was this:—

" That the Court of Directors be empowered
" to affix the seal of the Company to Petitions to
" the Right Honorable the House of Lords and
" the Honorable the House of Commons, to be
" heard by Counsel, and to examine evidence at
" the bars of the Houses of Lords and Com-
" mons, should such measures be deemed neces-
" sary or advisable by the Court of Directors."

Mr. *Hume* apprehended there would not be any difference of opinion on this point; and as soon as it was disposed of he should beg to submit his own, as a second motion.

Mr. *Rock* requested, that the motion read from the Chair should not be now put, that he might be allowed to say one word before he gave his assent to it. He wished to be informed whether the opposition intended to be made by the Directors at the bar of the House of Commons, was intended to go to the whole of the resolutions, or whether that opposition was to be confined to *certain* resolutions? because there were unquestionably some out of the fifteen which he approved of, and there were others which required

very serious consideration: and amongst the latter was that relative to Religion. Before he could give his opinion therefore upon that subject, he should wish to know whether the opposition was intended to be confined to the third resolution *only*, or to the resolutions generally?

Mr. *Randle Jackson* apprehended that the honorable gentleman had mistaken the course of the proceedings. The question before the Court was merely to ask permission for the Directors to put the Company's seal to a petition to the honorable the House of Commons praying to be heard by their counsel, or to lay such evidence before the House as should be required, for the purpose of explaining such propositions and difficulties, and such resolutions as might arise in the course of the business. He therefore suggested the impropriety of their expressing any formal opinion upon resolutions which were only submitted to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh for the mere purpose of *consideration*; and not with a view of precluding the House, or the Company from suggesting such alterations and improvements as circumstances might require. As the motion before them did not intimate that it was the intention of the Court to oppose those resolutions, but merely to request permission to be

heard by counsel and examine evidence, he would suggest, that the honorable gentleman's question could not arise out of any thing contained in that motion.

Mr. *Rock* begged leave to explain. He was called upon, he said, to give his assent to a motion empowering the Court of Directors to put their seal to a petition that would pass, for ought he knew, into a resolution. There were certain resolutions amongst those proposed by the noble Lord to the House of Commons which he very much approved of. He did not say that he approved of the last relative to religion, which he admitted was one of the greatest importance. But he hoped that the Court of Directors would not oppose every one of those resolutions.

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* rose and attempted to speak; but

Mr. *Lowndes* rose at the same time and obtained possession of the Court. He congratulated himself that he was at length honoured with their attention; as he must own he had yielded the point of precedence to the honorable gentleman (Mr. Hume) with reluctance, for though he was not convinced by his arguments, he should not have felt anxious to speak before him, if he had not feared an attempt to speak after a man of his abilities and eloquence might be considered as pre-

sumptuous. Having heard such able speeches from the *Cicero* and *Demosthenes* of this Court, *(a laugh)* he certainly could not flatter himself that he should be able to offer any thing very worthy their attention. But at the same time, as it was impossible to embrace every thing even in such long-winded speeches (which he certainly admitted were much better worth hearing than the long-winded speeches of another House) he should take the liberty of touching upon one or two points which had escaped their notice. As he professed nothing at all of the *courtier*, and as he spoke his sentiments freely and without reserve upon all occasions, he should not to-day forbear stating with freedom, but with respect, the few words he had to utter. His worthy friend (Mr. Jackson) had commented at some length upon the observations of Lord Castlereagh touching the conduct of the honorable servants of that House. It appeared that Lord Castlereagh had observed with tolerable freedom, upon the conduct of those honorable servants; and certainly in his (Mr. Lowndes's) opinion, not without some reason: for he firmly believed that if the honorable servants of that house had looked a little better after the interests of the Company—if they had not allowed the Americans trading to India—the Court would not have heard so much

as they have heard, about the dangers of private trade. Therefore, if such dangers there were, they had to blame themselves for slumbering on their posts. To this negligence must be attributed all that had been said about the baneful effects of private trade. And when he heard of an immense trade carried on by the merchants of that country (America) in three hundred sail of shipping, brought into foreign markets, and coming in competition with the Indian goods imported by the honorable Company to the injury of those concerned in the private trade of this country, he could not forbear to throw all the blame upon the servants of that honorable House for allowing such an evil to exist. It was what might have been expected, and which could not but be anticipated. Now, he did think, with all due deference to those honorable persons, that they should not have suffered such a complaint to exist upon so important a question, but on that occasion they should have petitioned his Majesty's Ministers and the Houses of Lords and Commons, to point out some method to prevent the Americans from trading to India in the manner they had done. There was another point on which he thought the Directors were also very much to blame. Though he felt every disposition in the world to speak of them individually with

the greatest respect, and though they were very worthy and excellent men, as individuals, yet when thrown together, like a heap of vegetables, they were apt to corrupt each other. (*A laugh.*)

The second point that he objected to in their conduct was, that on this important occasion, they had improvidently consented or agreed to give £500,000 a year to Government, in order to keep £4,500,000 which they would have kept, *nolens volens*; and this without any sort of reference to the state of their circumstances, whether in adversity or prosperity. His worthy friend (Mr. Randle Jackson) seemed disposed to give £450,000. But what he (Mr. Lowndes) contended for was, that if the Directors gave but £5 or £500, it ought to bear some proportion to their profits. Surely the Company ought not to give the Government £500,000, per annum, if their concern was a losing one.

Now, upon this second point, he thought they were really very culpable, and did not demand as much as they ought: but he only mentioned this circumstance to shew the impolicy of not looking to their own interests. And therefore he had hoped they would not have made such a bad bargain as they did on this occasion. This however, was not an observation which had just occurred to him; it had frequently been

made before. But having said so much, he begged only to add, that he did not entertain any ill-will towards them; but, that being an independent man, he was desirous of speaking the sentiments of an independent mind. And if he again devoted himself to peaceful retirement, he should no less feel the same portion of anxiety than if he were present in that honorable Court. He was, however, anxious to speak this day in vindication of his own conduct, which had been attacked for having spent all the winter at Bath. Several of his friends had said to him—"what, Lowndes! have you "deserted your post at the India House, where "you used to make so much noise?—Why, you "have been silent for the last nine months!—What "is the reason of it?"—Now were his talents of a little more consequence than they were, perhaps his worthy friends might have thought he had been bought off: *(a laugh)* but though he was absent, he begged to say he was not ignorant of what was passing in that place, nor insensible to what had occurred elsewhere. He could only say to those worthy friends who were enquiring where he had been, that he had been an hundred miles from London, and had not an opportunity, from that circumstance, of attending the usual meetings. Happy was he to observe, that

a great many things of considerable importance to the welfare of India had happened while he was absent. The most pleasing was that of the appointment of a noble Lord to be Governor-General of India: for he did think that a man of more accomplished mind, a man of more conciliating manners, or whose knowledge and acquirements were better adapted to the good government of India than Lord Moira, could not have been fixed upon. He was a man who would do more for the benefit of that Country, and much more towards conciliating the good opinion and confidence of the settlements of that immense territory, than any Governor who had been sent out for many years. He was, in short, a second Marquis Cornwallis.

There were one or two points in the long speeches of the two honorable gentlemen who delivered their sentiments to the Court, to which he would shortly advert. That he principally alluded to, was the proposition of the noble Lord (Castlereagh) to send out a Bishop and three Archdeacons. Now, really, he could not see the policy of such a proposition, taking it in three points of view.—In the first place, in point of *religion*; in the second, in a *political* light; and the third, in point of *economy*. The Bishop and Archdeacons, it was con-

tended, were necessary to go out for the purpose of advocating the cause of the Christian religion. Certainly no man was a stronger friend to religious establishments than he was: but he must say for himself that he never knew a Bishop or an Archdeacon to forward religion.—

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* rose to order. He said it was impossible to sit still and hear the observations of the honorable gentleman, without checking such language.

Mr. Lowndes continued, he saw with a sort of prophetic eye, danger, not only to the cause of religion, but to the peace, the tranquillity, and security of British India, from the introduction of an hierarchy into that country. He entertained the highest respect for the church establishment of England, and he admitted that it was very proper that we should have the episcopal dignitaries at home, but they were utterly uncongenial with the very soil of India, and totally inconsistent with the dignity and tranquillity of that country: for he hesitated not to say, that the very moment a Bishop was sent to India, he would be at once placed in a situation higher than the Governor General himself. Such a thing was never heard nor dreamt of before, as the appointment of a Bishop in India. Hitherto the Company had had humble, meek and unassuming pastors,

who discharged their duty in a humble, meek and unassuming manner: but if they were to send out a High Priest the consequence would be, that the mild spirit and unassuming character of the present priesthood would vanish, the cause of religion would suffer, and religious dissentions and religious animosities would arise.

In justice to his own sentiments, he could not forbear touching on this point: but knowing that the time and attention of the Court had been so long engaged on that day, he should not trespass much more upon their patience: yet he hoped he might be permitted to say, that he perfectly agreed with Lord Castlereagh in the concluding part of his speech, the recommendation of which he hoped would be adopted. His Lordship had said, "he could assure the House, His Majesty's Ministers, from a sense of public duty, and not from a wish of flattering any gentleman connected with either of the two contending interests, had adopted the plan he proposed; namely, a conciliatory plan, that the two jarring interests of the East-India Company and the Public should be united in such a way as to be beneficial to both." He perfectly agreed in the sentiments of the noble Lord, and he hoped it would have the effect of reconciling those jarring interests of the Company and the Public: but he

was afraid that the Company did not wish, with his honourable friend, Mr. Hume, to meet the public, like husband and wife, who had differed a little in opinion. Husband and wife, he admitted, should meet half way in such a case; but he did not think the Company would be quite so affectionately disposed. The East-India Company and the Public were rather to be considered like father and son: the father thinking he never could give too little, and the son, that the father could never give too much. *(A loud laugh.)* He did hope and trust, however, that the contending interests between the East-India Company and the public would be amicably adjusted; and that when they came together—the public, as the *son*, would consider that the father had other children to provide for: and whatever the parent had to give to the son, he would give it with good humour and grace; but, at the same time, shew parental tenderness for the interests of his younger children.

Now, there was one ground upon which he would stand on this occasion, which was—that if any right or privilege was to be taken away from the Company, there ought to be an equivalent for the loss; and there were three grand points upon which he would demand that equivalent: the rest he should be disposed to leave for

more detailed arrangements. The principle upon which he would make this demand was this, (keeping up the simile of father and son) that if it was not for the East-India Company, as a provident father, those children could not expect to have had a fortune at all. The first point, therefore, would be to ascertain the interests of the East-India House in Asia; the second, as to the mode of paying off the debt of £30,000,000; and the third and last, but most important undoubtedly, was the reestablishment of the Company itself. He thought this should come last of the three, to shew, that they were not actuated by those narrow selfish views which might be supposed to influence the conduct of individuals; but that, as a public body of men, they were anxious to deserve all the praises which Lord Castlereagh had bestowed upon them; and that they should do nothing to diminish the high character ascribed to them by the noble Lord; and that they might not place themselves in such a situation, that their enemies might say, the noble Lord had given them a character which they did not deserve.

Having trespassed so long upon the time of the Court, he should now conclude by expressing a hope, that whatever they gave, they would give it liberally: but, at the same time, considering

that the eldest son should not have more than was his due, because they had other children to provide for.

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* said, he was extremely sorry to trespass, at that hour of the day, upon the patience of the Court; but he assured them he did not rise to prolong the general discussion upon the great question, which had already undergone so much consideration and had exhausted almost every argument. But there was one point which had been descanted upon by an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Jackson) and by another honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) in such a way, that were he to sit still and not offer his sentiments, however humble an individual he was, he thought he should not discharge the duty he owed to himself and that body of men of which he was an unworthy member. He must tell that learned and honourable gentleman he was most completely mistaken in the opinions, sentiments, and dispositions of the Clergy of the Established Church of this Country: and it was too much for him (Mr. Thirlwall) to hear without denying, that they had the dispositions attributed to them by that honourable gentleman. Had the honourable and learned gentleman simply contented himself with saying that he would protest against an ecclesiastical establishment

in India, he (Mr. Thirlwall) would have had nothing to say to that point, though he should certainly differ from him: but, when he heard such harsh expressions of hostility towards the episcopal church, he was sorry the honourable gentleman should have suffered his feelings to lead him into so unmerited an attack upon their character. He was the more distressed at such observations because he did not expect them from a gentleman whose speeches he had heard with so much pleasure and satisfaction. The honourable gentleman thought that the appointment of Bishops in India would be injurious to the welfare of that country in a temporal point of view: for that *episcopacy* was naturally united with *temporal* power. The honourable gentleman was completely mistaken in that proposition. Episcopacy depended not upon temporal power; and with respect to the supposed danger arising from the establishment of episcopacy in India, it was contradicted by the facts and experience of other countries. In America Bishops were established, and yet no danger was ever expected to arise or had ever arisen from their appointment. Episcopacy was established in Nova Scotia. The Bishops in that country had nothing to do with politics. They were wholly unconnected with temporal power: and he never

heard of any danger arising from that establishment. Perhaps the Court was not aware that episcopacy in Scotland existed without temporal power ; and he believed there was not an order of men in the history of the most pious christians, who ever surpassed the Scotch bishops in the blameless tenour of their lives. He knew many of them, and they did honour to that church of which they were members. It was fallacious reasoning, therefore, to contend that episcopacy was inseparable from temporal power. On the contrary he would maintain, that episcopacy was not at all hostile either to civil or religious freedom, or to any other of the advantages which rendered society valuable. He (Mr. Thirlwall) would not yield to the honourable gentleman or to any man, in sentiments of unlimited toleration to all classes and denominations of christians ; but he did claim for himself, and for episcopacy, all those ecclesiastical privileges which, whether they were to be carried into India or not, were extremely necessary in his opinion, and inseparably connected with ecclesiastical government. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) had stated that there were a great number of chaplains in India, and a great number of ecclesiastical appointments under the protection and patronage of the Company. He was not aware that the

clergy were so numerous in that country; but if they were, it was an argument in favour of episcopal appointments, in order to the good government of the clergy. It was of the very essence of episcopal government that there should be such appointments: but it did not, therefore, necessarily follow, that temporal power was inseparably connected with episcopal power. They were as distinct as possible. Now, he was a member of the national establishment, and why? Because he was an episcopalian. He was an episcopalian, because he was a member of the Protestant establishment. Supposing he should cross the Tweed, he would not necessarily become a member of the national establishment of Scotland; but he would be subject to the episcopal government of that country, unconnected with temporal power. Now, when the honourable gentleman had stated that temporal power was intimately connected with episcopal, that was a very strong argument against his statement; and therefore he begged to set him right upon that point. He knew that many people laboured under a very great mistake, (and it was an error he wished to correct) with respect to episcopal government; namely, the idea of temporal power being essentially connected with episcopal privileges. Therefore, when he heard those harsh

expressions of the honourable gentleman, when he heard him speak of that ambitious, assuming, arrogant (he was not quite sure that the honourable gentleman used the *last* word), but that ambitious aspiring disposition, as if it was absolutely essential to the support of episcopacy that the Bishops and church dignitaries should be ambitious and aspiring, he begged to tell that honourable and learned gentleman, and all who entertained similar opinions, that history and experience contradicted such statements. This Country, he maintained, was indebted to the clergy and episcopacy for her liberties. Could any man look back to the period of the Revolution, and recollect the magnanimous and heroic conduct of the six Bishops in the Tower, without being convinced, that there was nothing in the principles of episcopacy hostile to civil liberty? To hear, therefore, such language, as that used by the honourable gentleman, would be highly unbecoming in him, if he did not, at the moment, point out the injustice done to the character of the hierarchy of this country. He himself was a very humble man, but certainly of an independent mind; and he would do justice to the bench of bishops, and contradict the statement of the honourable gentleman, by saying, that there was nothing of an aspiring ambitious character in

the disposition of those right reverend persons. It was true, they had temporal privileges in this country; they had a right to them: but they bore their honours with meekness and humility: they had never shewn any disposition to violate the principles of our free Constitution. On the contrary, upon all occasions, they had evinced themselves anxious to uphold the principles of liberty, and maintain the freedom of the Constitution. With respect to the honourable gentleman's (Mr. Hume) argument, that instead of increasing the number of chaplains and clergy on the Indian establishments, they ought to be diminished, he never heard so extraordinary an argument in a christian assembly. The argument of the honourable gentleman went the length of saying, that all attempts to convert the poor unenlightened Hindoos to Christianity should be given up. Such an idea filled him with horror. Good God! Did the honourable gentleman recommend the Court to exclude the Bible from the shores of Hindostan, lest, by enlightening the poor Hindoos with the knowledge of the true God, they would be subjected to the temporary inconveniences of this world? Would he preclude those unhappy men, from participating in the blessings of divine truth, and enjoying a blessed eternity? Would he not endeavour to rescue them from that misery in which their

utter ignorance had sunk them? Would he not endeavour to ameliorate their condition? Could that honourable gentleman hear of the dreadful and unnatural sacrifices daily made amongst the poor Hindoos, without entertaining feelings of horror? Could he hear of a wife being offered up as a victim to the manes of her husband, and those other dreadful rites and ceremonies which usually took place on such occasions, without wishing that the blessings of Christianity might be disseminated amongst an unenlightened people, whose condition, without such means, could never be ameliorated? He was sorry to have heard such arguments from the honourable gentleman, and he hoped he would excuse him for having thus warmly expressed his dissent from such opinions.

Mr. *Randle Jackson* begged leave to explain. He said the reverend gentleman had put words into his mouth which he should be extremely sorry, should go forth from that place, as expressive of his sentiments, uncontradicted. It was not very likely that a man, who was himself a member of the established church, and whose life had been a life of reverence towards the established hierarchy of his country, should now speak so lightly of them, as the reverend gentleman was pleased to say he had spoken. But he begged to remind the Court what the proposition

was, that he really contended for. It was this—that high and vaulting ambition was inseparable from high station. That was what he said, and what he would now contend for. He alluded to no particular persons or class of individuals; for he thought that the appointment of a lord chief justice or a Bishop, with a splendid stipend, was nearly allied to temporal influence and power. And to him it would make no sort of difference *what* the *profession* of the person was, who was vested with such high temporal power and influence, because the danger from such influence would be the same in the one, as in the other. All he now contended for was, that if such appointments were made, and accompanied by that power which was inseparable from high station, it would be a most dangerous beginning. He deprecated such a commencement, and he hoped in God that it might never take root.

Mr. *Hume* was sorry again to trouble the Court; but he must be allowed to say something in answer to the reverend gentleman, who had put words into his mouth which he had never used. He denied that he alluded to political power, as connected with the bishops. He had stated that no man would be more anxious to see a religious establishment, under certain regulations, in India, than he was. He was sure

the Court would do him the justice to recollect, that he began with that very observation; but he concluded by stating, that there were, at present, clergymen in India, sufficient for every clerical duty that was required. His chief objection was upon the score of economy; and he denied that he had used those improper expressions attributed to him by the reverend gentleman. *(Cries of question! question!)*

The Rev. Mr. *Thirlwall* expressed his willingness to apologize to both the honourable gentlemen if he had misunderstood them.

Mr. *Hume* repeated that his objection was upon the score of economy.

Mr. *Lowndes*, as a member of the university of Oxford, declared that he must be allowed to say he had used no expression of disrespect, individually, towards the Bench of Bishops. He had the greatest respect for those reverend prelates, as connected with the church establishment in England; but in India, he must say, he really did not see the necessity of having such appointments. On the contrary, he sincerely thought they would be dangerous. *(Cry of Spoke! spoke! question! question!)*—The honourable gentleman was proceeding to make some further observations—when

The *Deputy Chairman* interposed and called

the honourable gentleman to order, reminding him that he had already had an opportunity of delivering his sentiments.

Mr. *Kinnard Smith* requested permission to say a few words. He sincerely hoped that those gentlemen who advocated the cause of the Company in the House of Commons would still persevere in their exertions to obtain such a charter as would be perfectly consistent with the interests as well of the Country as of the Company. He doubted not that the terms would be liberal; but at the same time, he thought that if the trade were opened in the way proposed by Lord Castlereagh —unless there was a very great retrenchment both in this country and in India, of the expences of the Company, and likewise a reduction of all their officers of every description, and of their pensions,—it would be impossible for them to exist. At the same time, he did hope and trust that His Majesty's Ministers would in some degree abate of their original intention of opening the Outports, and that the Company would at least find themselves in a better condition than they expected. Indeed, he himself thought the propositions brought forward by Lord Castlereagh had not gone the length which had been feared. And he also did hope and trust, that they would consider the existence and support the property

and welfare of thousands who were dependent upon the determination of the question in whatever way it should be considered.

The question was then put from the Chair, upon the Chairman's original resolution, and carried unanimously.

Mr. *Hume* again rose, under some murmurs of the Court, to propose his motion; observing, at the same time, that if it was the wish of the Court that he should withdraw it, he would do so. *(A cry of move, move!)*

The question after having been seconded, was then put from the Chair, when

Mr. *R. Jackson* rose to deprecate the motion. He hoped the honourable gentleman, from a consideration of the circumstances in which the Company now stood, would himself pursue that line of conciliatory conduct he had recommended, by withdrawing it. In the first place, he begged to state what the proposition of the honourable gentleman was. It went to pledge the whole Court and the whole body of the East India Company in a vote of thanks, as it were, to the Ministers, for the liberality they had shewn upon this occasion. Now, for his own part, when he considered how much of the independent feeling of the Court would be sacrificed by acceding to that resolution, he must give,

for one, his decided negative to it: for even if the Ministers had taken up the cause with some degree of liberality, which he (Mr. Jackson) acknowledged they had, yet still such a resolution as this would not only be inconsistent with the whole proceedings in their present stage, but would be utterly useless, as it respected the general interests of the Company. He not only saw no occasion for passing this resolution of acknowledgment to that liberality which the honourable gentleman stated to have actuated the conduct of Ministers, but he saw danger to the interests of the Company, by its laying them, as it were, at the feet of Administration. He would put it to the good sense of all who heard him, whether they would be likely in any way to improve their interests by laying themselves at the feet of Ministers? And he would leave it to the fair consideration of the honourable gentleman himself, whether it would not be stultifying the conduct of the Court in the most extraordinary way, after they had passed certain resolutions, and recognised certain principles, inconsistent with some of the resolutions proposed to the House of Commons? Even the conduct of the honourable gentleman himself would appear inconsistent in some respects, because he had set out with acknowledging those views. But the honourable

gentleman's proposition assumes that there was really a hostile feeling, and an indisposition on the part of the Court to meet the Ministers. Now if that were really the case, such a proposition might be very seasonable. The honourable gentleman stated his reason for making this proposition to be, that that Court might go on in *their* share of the negociation, in a conciliatory manner: but he would ask, was it necessary for such a resolution to be adopted by the Court, in order to induce them to do that which their own good sense, their own respect to themselves, their own convenience, and their own interests, would prompt them to do? Surely, there was every disposition in the Court, without that sort of mandate which the honourable gentleman's motion contained, to become conciliatory. There was every disposition to become so, notwithstanding any idea the honourable gentleman might entertain upon the subject. But the honourable gentleman did not content himself with the mere attempt at persuasion, his resolution was couched in terms of command. It was like a mandatory order upon the Court to crouch at the feet of Ministers: " that you do forthwith enter into consideration with the King's Government, acknowledge the liberality of their views, and thank them fot what you have obtained from them."

Now, that was as much as to say, that as the Court could not get all they had been wishing for—as they could not get that which was essential to their interests, they should content themselves with just so much, if they could get no better. Could that, he would ask, be a wise resolution for a body like them to adopt? How could a proposition of this kind lead to a conciliatory adjustment, if there was a sincere wish on the part of the Company to second the proposition by their conduct? Surely a spontaneous, unsolicited, inherent disposition to conciliation was a better assurance to His Majesty's government of the sincerity of the Company in their conciliatory disposition, than any forced, stiff, and formal declaration upon the the subject. He knew the former was the temper and disposition of the Court; and therefore there was no occasion to make any humiliating professions of it: and he had no hesitation in saying, that, whether it was the Directors or the Administration which thought a communication necessary with each other, that communication, whenever it took place, would be attended with the highest possible honour to both parties: but, at present, he was persuaded, the Court must see it would be exceedingly ill timed to require that communication; perfectly persuaded, as he was, that the good sense of the Court, and the

natural desire they must have to consult their own interests, would induce them to remove every impediment to conciliation. For his own part, he really thought the resolutions of the honourable gentleman, if adopted, would be an actual impediment to conciliation, at the same time that they were inconsistent with each other. The *first* set out with acknowledging the justice and the liberality of those resolutions laid before Parliament, together with the substance of the conduct of the Court, and contained a great deal of important matter. But the *second* desired the Directors to go upon their knees, to communicate the *temper* of the Court, in an audience with His Majesty's Ministers, and to desire that they would do for the Company—not all that they (the Company) could wish,—but all that they the Ministers were willing to do for them. Now what advantage could be expected from such a proposition? for *that* was the substance of the honorable gentleman's motion. He hoped the Court therefore, would concur with him in beseeching the honorable gentleman, that he would not avail himself or take advantage of the usual forms of a public assembly, to propose resolutions of that kind; for he must know how it would read with the public, that such Resolutions of an honorable Proprietor in that Court

were positively negatived: and he would put it to the honorable gentleman's own good sense, whether the real interests of the Company would be consulted by such a course of proceeding? For, surely, the Court would never bring itself to support resolutions, which told them that they must throw themselves at the feet of His Majesty's Ministers to ask for *bits* and *scraps.* Such conduct would not contribute much to the respectability and character of the Company, and therefore he should hope that the honorable gentleman would think it advisable to withdraw his motion.—*(Cry of Withdraw! Withdraw!)*

Mr. *Hume* again rose, and said that, in justice to himself, he hoped the Court would permit him to say one word in explanation. He could have no sort of intention whatever, either to degrade the Company, or demean it in the eyes of His Majesty's Ministers. But when he recollected what had passed on a former occasion, and that the assertion on the part of certain gentlemen was, that His Majesty's Ministers had broken off the conference with the Company, he had thought, that the best way of securing conciliation, on the part of His Majesty's Ministers, was to adopt the resolutions he had proposed; and, therefore, considering the discussion in the House

of Commons as the *advance courteous,* he was willing that this Court should meet the House halfway. He had no objection to obliterate from the resolution the word "*liberal,*" and leave it in the more general terms in which it was conveyed. He should, with great deference to the Court, still persevere in taking their sense upon it.

Mr. *Jackson* said, that the alteration suggested, by no means obviated his objections to the motion.

An universal cry of, *Withdraw! Withdraw! Adjourn! Adjourn!* proceeded from all parts of the Court;—when Mr. *Hume* again rose and said, that, as the sense of the Court appeared to be so strong against his motion, he should be extremely sorry to press it: he would therefore withdraw it.

The hon. gentleman's motion was accordingly withdrawn.

A general cry of *Adjourn! Adjourn!* from all parts of the Court, and the *Deputy Chairman* had put the question of adjournment, when

Mr. *Hume* again rose. He said he had a proposition to make to the Court, which, he was sure, would meet with the unanimous approbation of all the gentlemen present. He thought, on a momentous occasion like the present, the

Court ought to be guided by what had taken place on a former occasion; and he was sure that no man there would be willing to deprive himself, on an occasion like this, of the opportunity to express his approbation, and his feelings of gratitude towards the conduct of a gentleman who had so eminently distinguished himself by his exertions and his talents during the whole of the negociation:—he meant their hon. Chairman, Sir *Hugh Inglis.* He was extremely anxious to follow the example of the General Court of Directors and Proprietors, on the 3d of April 1793. As they were not likely to meet again before the annual election on the 14th of April, he was sure the Court would excuse him for having availed himself of this opportunity, however late it was in the day, of moving the thanks of the Court to the honourable Director and Chairman, whose public duties, every man, he believed, would admit had been productive of the greatest advantage to the Company. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* He was desirous therefore, that this just testimony should be borne to his valuable services on the present occasion. Without troubling the Court any further at present, he should conclude by moving:—

"That in consequence of the important ser-
"vices rendered by Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. dur-

"ing the present negociation with His Majesty's
"Ministers for the renewal of the Company's
"Charter, it is recommended to the Court of
"Directors, after the election of Directors on
"the 14th of April next, to solicit the aid and
"assistance of the said Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart.
"during the remainder of the negociation, and
"that he now be added to such Committee or
"Committees as may be appointed for that pur-
"pose."

Mr. *Rock* seconded the motion.

Mr. *Kinnard Smith* stated in a few words his concurrence.

Mr. *Hume* said this was a resolution of thanks similar to that voted to Sir Francis Baring in the year 1793: and he doubted not but that the like unanimity would prevail on the present occasion.

Some doubt seemed to be entertained by the Directors, as to the regularity of the proceeding, when

The *Deputy Chairman* addressed the Court, and said, he hoped he might be permitted to express himself upon the proposition which had been so liberally and so handsomely made by the honorable Proprietor; who, on this occasion, had paid a just tribute to the merits of their worthy Chairman. When the honourable Proprietor had first proposed his motion, he (the Deputy

Chairman) had imagined that there was no precedent for a proceeding so desirable in itself and so agreeable to his own feelings. But it now became his duty to state, that upon inquiry, he was happy to find the same honour had been conferred on Sir Francis Baring, in the year 1793, as had been alluded to by the honourable gentleman. He begged leave further to state, that he had not the least knowledge, nor the least anticipation, that the honourable Proprietor meant to pay that merited compliment to the honourable Chairman. He could only say, that having frequent occasions of knowing the zeal of his honourable friend's mind—the anxiety he felt for the interests of the Company—the watchful and active share he had taken in promoting its welfare—his ardency in embracing every opportunity to forward those interests, and in a manner which could not be surpassed;——and knowing, too, that no circumstance, however difficult or perilous, could induce that honourable person to sacrifice those interests; it became him, it was as well his duty as his gratification, to say, that if such should be the testimony of their approbation and confidence for his honourable colleague, he should be happy in seeing the Company continue to be benefited by the talents and services, which had so much and so honourably

distinguished him,—although, in common course, the honourable Chairman would be soon out of the Direction. At all events, it would be a due testimony to his character and his abilities;—and the approbation of the Court, to a mind like his, would, he knew, be deemed the highest reward to which his ambition could aspire. There was one other observation he would take the liberty of making. He thought this act of justice, which was so honourable to the worthy object of it, would be a sure presage of the strength of the Company's cause, and would add to the probability of its success.—It would shew that the measures which had been hitherto pursued, meeting with such warm approbation, were likely still to be followed, and that no change in that system could be desired or ex-expected, which had contributed so much to the welfare and advantage of the Company. *(Hear! hear! hear!)* It was a strong indication of an intention, on the part of the Court, to persevere in that policy which added so much to the strength and good government of British India.

He would still intrude another observation, with the permission of the Court, in allusion to the motion which the honourable Proprietor had proposed, but which he, with so much delicacy for the feelings of the Court, had withdrawn.—In

alluding to the past, he thought the Court ought to draw some presage of the future. By that which was past they were best able to anticipate what might ensue. From the past it would be seen and acknowledged, that no opportunity had been lost by the Directors of promoting every feeling of conciliation; and he was sure he might with equal justice add, that the Court of Directors would never in future do any thing inconsistent with the interests of the Company: but, on the contrary, that they would seek every opportunity of conciliation consistent with the great object at stake, and the important charge imposed upon them.—What they had already begun they would continue to persevere in: and so far as he, personally, was concerned, he hoped he should again have the honour of rendering them his humble but faithful services: and he assured them, that no means should be spared on his part to protect the East-India Company in the moment of difficulty and danger. *That* should be the great object of his life; and to become instrumental in its protection would be the proudest honour he could desire. *(Hear! hear!)*

He hoped he had not said too much;—he was afraid if he had said less, he should have said too little. He was their servant; and it was as well

his duty, as his gratification, to watch and protect their interests.—Wherever he might be placed they should find him faithful and conscientious, anxious to devote his whole life to their honour and service.—He doubted not but the motion now proposed would be carried with that Unanimity, which, while it affords the highest honour to the merit that elicits it, will give additional value to the grateful testimony of approbation.

Mr. *Twining* said, that having been a member of the Court of Proprietors in the year 1793, when the resolution was brought forward for returning thanks to Sir Francis Baring, the then Chairman, and for continuing him in office during the negociation between His Majesty's then Ministers and the Company, it certainly did occur to his mind, that a resolution of the same nature might be offered upon the present occasion, approving the conduct of their honorable Chairman, though he never mentioned it. But he did not wish that the motion should come from the side of the bar on which he had the honor to sit, from motives sufficiently obvious to need any explanation. He was convinced, however, that some honorable gentleman on the other side of the bar would propose doing that for Sir Hugh Inglis, which had been done for Sir F. Baring: and it was with peculiar plea-

sure he heard the honorable gentleman bring forward a motion, which, he was sure, would give infinite satisfaction to every member of the Court present.

The *Deputy Chairman* said he begged leave to second the motion.

[However, being informed that it was already seconded, he then put the question, which was carried unanimously with loud acclamations.]

Mr. *Rigby* said he would not, at this moment of the day, have presumed to occupy the attention of the Court at all, had not a circumstance occurred to his mind, upon which he would take the liberty of putting a few questions. After the brilliant display of talents, and after all the information that had been laid before the Court upon this subject generally, a circumstance had occurred to him but had escaped others, and which he thought required explanation. What he alluded to, was the security of the pension paid by the Company to the most noble the Marquis of Wellesley. He was desirous of knowing whether this subject would be taken into the consideration of the Court? It occurred to his mind, from some observations which fell from an honorable gentleman, (Mr. Lowndes) respecting the Government making good the securities of the Company, in case the

Company should sustain any inconvenience from the loss of their trade. Now, it would be recollected, that the pension of £5000 per annum to Marquis Wellesley, was for twenty years from the year 1798, provided the Company's exclusive trade so long existed. It had occurred to his mind, that perhaps the very circumstance might cause in the noble Marquis's mind a degree of delicacy, which might perhaps interfere with the line of his public duty. Feeling that the noble Marquis might suppose himself to *appear* interested in the event of this question, though his independent mind would disdain so uuworthy a consideration, he (Mr. Rigby) was desirous to free him, even from the shadow of imputation on the subject; and should therefore be glad to learn if any means could be devised to secure the noble Marquis's pension, and, at the same time, relieve him from all appearance of obligation. This was merely a suggestion of his own, which he threw out for the consideration of the Court; and certainly it was not his intention to make any motion on the subject.

Mr. *Lowndes* said in a few words, that certainly the noble Marquis's pension *ought*, and, he dared to say, *would* be placed upon such a footing as to secure it from danger.

The *Deputy Chairman* begged leave to state,

that it would not be in the power of the Directors, to accomplish what was proposed by the honorable Proprietor. It was a matter in which, at present, they could not interfere, and it must remain for future consideration.

[After a few words from Mr. Hume, pointing out one or two verbal alterations in the vote of thanks to Sir Hugh Inglis, which were acceded to, the Court adjourned.]

APPENDIX.

RESOLUTIONS *of a* GENERAL COURT *of Proprietors of East-India Stock, held on Wednesday the 24th March*, 1813.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court concur in a Petition to the House of Lords, similar to that which has been presented to the House of Commons.

Resolved unanimously, That the Court of Directors be empowered to affix the seal of the Company to Petitions to the Right Honourable the House of Lords and the Honourable the House of Commons, to be heard by counsel, and to examine evidence at the bars of the Houses of Lords and Commons, should such measures be deemed necessary or advisable by the Court of Directors.

Resolved unanimously, That in consequence of the important services rendered by Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. during the present negociation with His Majesty's Ministers for the renewal of the Company's Charter, it is recommended to the Court of Directors, after the election of Directors on the 14th of April next, to solicit the aid and assistance of the said Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. during the remainder of the negociation, and that he now be added to such Committee or Committees as may be appointed for that purpose.

RESOLUTIONS *proposed in the House of Commons by* LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, *on the 22d March,* 1813.

I.—That it is expedient, that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities granted to the United Company of Merchants trading to the *East-Indies*, by virtue of any act or acts of parliament now in force, and all rules, regulations, and clauses affecting the same, shall continue and be in force for the further term of twenty years; except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed.

II.—That the existing restraints, respecting the commercial intercourse with *China*, shall be continued; and that the exclusive trade in tea shall be preserved to the said Company, during the period aforesaid.

III.—That, subject to the provisions contained in the preceding resolution, it shall be lawful for any of His Majesty's subjects to export any goods, wares, or merchandize, which can now or may hereafter be legally exported from any port in the United Kingdom, to any port within the limits of the charter of the said Company, and *that all ships navigated according to law*, proceeding from any port within the limits of the Company's charter, and being provided with regular manifests from the last port of clearance, shall respectively be permitted to import any goods, wares, and merchandize, the product and manufacture of any countries within the said limits, into any ports in the United Kingdom, which may be provided with warehouses, together with wet docks or basons, or such other securities as shall, in the judgment of the Commissioners of the Treasury in Great Britain and Ireland, respectively be fit and proper for the deposit and safe custody of all such goods, wares, and merchandize, as well as for the collection of all duties payable thereon, and shall have been so declared by the orders of His Ma-

jesty in Council in Great Britain, or by the order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council in Ireland: Provided always, that copies of all such orders in council shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament in the session next ensuing: Provided also, that no ship or vessel of less than 350 tons registered measurement, shall be permitted to clear out from any port in the United Kingdom, for any port or place within the limits aforesaid, or be admitted to entry in any port of the United Kingdom from any place within those limits: Provided also, that no such ship which shall have so navigated, shall be admitted to entry in any part of the United Kingdom, without a regular manifest, duly certified according to such regulations as may hereafter be enacted: Provided also, that no article manufactured of silk, hair, or wool, or any mixture thereof, shall be entered or taken out of any warehouse, except for exportation, unless the same shall have been brought into the port of London, and deposited in the warehouses of the said United Company; and such articles shall by them be exposed to public sale by auction, in order to ascertain the duties payable thereupon; and in all other ports as well as the port of London, such articles, when entered and taken out for exportation, shall be charged according to their value under the regulations legally applicable in other cases to duties payable *ad valorem*.

IV.—That as long as the government of India shall be administered under the authority of the said Company, according to the provisions, limitations, and regulations hereafter to be enacted, the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the territorial acquisitions in India, shall, after defraying the expenses of collecting the same, with the several charges and stipulated payments to which the revenues are subject, be applied and disposed of according to the following order of preference:

In the first place, in defraying all the charges and expences of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as native, artillery and marine, on the establishments in India; and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval

stores: Secondly, in the payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may hereafter be incurred, by the said Company in India: Thirdly, in defraying the civil and commercial establishments at the several settlements there: Fourthly, that the whole or any part of any surplus that may remain of the above described rents, revenues, and profits, after providing for the several appropriations, and defraying the several charges before-mentioned, shall be applied to the provision of the Company's investment in India, in remittances to China for the provision of investments there, or towards the liquidation of debts in India, or such other purposes as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

V.—That the receipts into the Company's Treasury in England, from the proceeds of the sales of their goods, and from the profits arising from private and privileged trade, or in any other manner, shall be applied and disposed of as follows: First, in payment of bills of exchange already accepted by the Company, as the same shall become due: Secondly, for the current payment of debts (the principal of the bond debt in England always excepted) as well as interest, and the commercial charges and expenses of the said Company: Thirdly, in payment of a dividend of ten pounds per cent. on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said Company, also in the payment of a further dividend of ten shillings per cent. upon such capital stock, after the separate fund upon which the same was originally charged by the 124th clause of 33 Geo. III. c. 52. shall have been exhausted; he said payments respectively to be made half yearly: Fourthly, in the reduction of the principal of the debt in India, or of the bond debt at home, as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

VI.—That when the principal of the debt bearing interest in India, shall have been reduced to the sum of ten millions of pounds sterling, calculated at the exchange of 2*s.* the Bengal current rupee, 8*s.* the Ma-

dras pagoda, and 2*s.* 3*d.* the Bombay rupee, and the bonded debt in England shall have been reduced to the sum of three millions of pounds sterling, then and thereafter the surplus proceeds which shall be found to arise from the revenues of India, and *the profits upon the trade*, after providing for the payments aforesaid, shall be applied to the more speedy repayment of the capital of any public funds or securities which have been or may be created for the use of the said Company, the charges of which have been or may be directed to be borne by the said Company in virtue of any act or acts of Parliament; and that any further surplus that may arise, shall be set apart, and from time to time paid into the receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, without any interest to be paid to the Company in respect or for the use thereof; but nevertheless to be considered and declared as an effectual security to the said Company for the capital stock of the said Company, and for the dividend of ten and a half per cent. per annum, in respect thereof, not exceeding the sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling; and that of the excess of such payments, if any, beyond the said amount of twelve millions, one sixth part shall from time to time be reserved and retained by the said Company for their own use and benefit, and the remaining five sixths shall be deemed and declared the property of the public, and at the disposal of Parliament: Provided also, that if the Company's debts in India, after the same shall have been reduced to ten millions sterling, shall be again increased beyond that amount, or if their bond debt in England, after the same shall have been reduced to three millions, shall be again increased beyond that sum, then and so often as either of these cases shall happen, the surplus proceeds shall be appropriated to the reduction of such new debts respectively, until the debts in India shall be again reduced to ten millions of pounds sterling, and the bond debt in England to three millions of pounds sterling.

VII.—That it is expedient that ships built within the British territories in the East-Indies, and employed in

the commerce between India and the United Kingdom, should, during the present war and for eighteen months after the conlcusion thereof, be permitted to import any goods, wares or merchandize, the produce or manufacture of any countries within the limits of the East-India Company's charter, except as aforesaid, or to export any goods, wares or merchandize from this Kingdom to the British Settlements in the East-Indies, or to any of the places within the said limits, in the same manner as ships British-built, and duly registered as such; and that after the expiration of the period above-mentioned, the said India-built ships should be liable to such other provisions as Parliament may from time to time enact, for the further increase and encouragement of shipping and navigation; and that effectual provision should be made, at the charge of the owners and commanders of such ships, for the maintenance, while in the United Kingdom, of the Asiatic sailors employed in the navigation thereof, and for the return of such sailors to their native country.

VIII.—That it is expedient to make provision for further limiting the granting of gratuities and pensions to officers, civil and military, or increasing the same, or creating any new establishments at home; in such manner as may effectually protect the funds of the said Company.

IX.—That all vacancies happening in the office of Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, or of Governor of either of the Company's presidencies or settlements of Fort St. George or Bombay, or of Governor of the forts and garrisons of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces in India, or of any provincial Commander-in-Chief of the Forces there, shall continue to be filled up and supplied by the Court of Directors of the said United Company; subject nevertheless to the approbation of His Majesty, to be signified in writing under his royal sign manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

X.—That the number of His Majesty's troops in

India, to be in future maintained by the said Company, be limited, and that any augmentation of force, exceeding the number so limited, shall, unless employed at the express requisition of the said Company, be at the public charge.

XI.—That it is expedient that the church establishment in the British territories in the East-Indies should be placed under the superintendance of a bishop and three archdeacons; and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance.

COPY *of a* PETITION *from the* EAST-INDIA COMPANY *to the Right Honourable* HOUSE *of* LORDS.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies,

SHEWETH,

That as your Petitioners have reason to believe, that the system by which the relation between Great Britain and the East-Indies is now regulated, will shortly be taken into consideration by your Lordships, your Petitioners hope they may be permitted to state the outlines of the history of the establishment of your Petitioners, as well as their present situation as to their property and rights, their functions, and obligations.

[The rest of the statements and allegations in this petition are the same, in substance, with those contained in the petition to the House of Commons.]

Your Petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that your Lordships, in any arrangement which your Lordships may see fit to make, touching the premises, will be pleased to continue the government of the territorial acquisitions in the East-Indies

in your Petitioners; and that your Lordships will be pleased to settle the trade to the East-Indies and China and other places, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, according to the present system; and that your Petitioners may be heard by their Counsel, and admitted to adduce proofs, touching the matters aforesaid; and that your Lordships will be pleased to grant to your Petitioners such relief in the premises, as their case may require, and as your Lordships shall see fit.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

Copy *of a* Petition *from the* East-India Company *to the Honourable* House *of* Commons.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies,

Sheweth:

That it appears by the votes of this Honourable House, that a Committee of the Whole House is now sitting, to consider of the affairs of your Petitioners.

That your Petitioners hope they may be permitted to adduce evidence, touching the matters under the consideration of the said Committee.

Your Petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that they may be heard by their Counsel, in order to adduce evidence to this Honourable House, touching the matters under the consideration of the said Committee.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.